

UBC reaches agreement

by Donald C. Savage
CAUT Executive
Secretary

The Faculty Association and David Strangway, the new President of the University of British Columbia have reached an agreement in principle which, if ratified by the faculty and Board of Governors, will defuse the serious crisis which erupted at the University in June of last year.

In June 1985, the President and Board of Governors, under considerable financial and political pressure, unilaterally adopted a policy

on redundancy and fired 12 faculty members under that policy. Faculty were of the view that the imposed policy altered the terms and conditions of all faculty at UBC. Both the Faculty Association and the CAUT denounced the actions of the Board of Governors as serious infractions of academic freedom.

In early June, a heavily attended meeting of the Faculty Association declared no confidence in the then Acting President and in the Board of Governors. The Association launched grievances relating to

the contracts of the 12 professors and to the bargaining rights of the association. CAUT supported this move and indicated that it would activate a B.C. Defence Fund to assist the professors. The UBC Faculty Association and CAUT were prepared to put up \$100,000 each if necessary to defend the rights of the faculty.

The settlement of the dispute deals first with the 12 professors. One has been redeployed. One is on medical leave and a final settlement has been postponed. The remaining 10 faculty members have been offered voluntary early termination with compensation offered by the University. For the untenured, this involves one year's notice and one year's salary. The tenured faculty can receive one year's notice plus compensation which can reach a maximum equivalent to 28 months' salary.

The Association and the President have also reached agreement in principle on a new financial exigency policy. This is a great improvement over both the unilaterally proclaimed redundancy policy and a proposed policy that had been rejected by the faculty in 1984. Among other matters, it ensures that "financial exigency" can only be invoked by the Board of Governors on the recommendation of the President following examination of the University's financial situation by a Committee on Financial Exigency and by the University Senate. Only when a state of financial exigency has been so declared can there be appointment ter-



The Ladner Clock Tower on UBC campus

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Une entente de principe est conclue à l'UCB

par Donald C. Savage,
Secrétaire général
de l'ACPU

L'Association des professeurs et David Strangway, le nouveau président de l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique, en sont venus à un accord de principe qui, si les professeurs et le conseil d'administration le ratifient, mettra fin à la grave situation qui a surgi à l'Université en juin dernier.

En juin 1985, le président et le conseil d'administration, sous le coup de grandes pressions financières et politiques, ont adopté unilatéralement une politique relativement aux précédents et ont licencié des professeurs en vertu de cette dernière. De l'avis des professeurs, la politique modifiait les conditions d'emploi de tous les professeurs à l'UCB. L'Association des professeurs et l'ACPU ont dénoncé les

gestes du conseil d'administration en tant que graves infractions à la liberté universitaire.

Au début de juin, une réunion tenue devant une nombreuse assistance par l'Association a déclaré qu'elle n'avait pas confiance dans le président alors intérimaire ni dans le conseil d'administration. L'Association a institué des griefs concernant les contrats des douze professeurs et son droit de négociation. L'ACPU a appuyé la chose et a dit qu'elle mettrait sur pied une Caisse de défense de la C.B. afin d'aider les professeurs. L'Association et l'ACPU étaient prêtes à aller de \$100,000 chacune au besoin pour défendre les droits des professeurs.

Le règlement du conflit pourvoit d'abord aux douze professeurs. L'un d'eux a été affecté à un autre poste. Un autre est en congé médical et le règlement final est différé dans son cas. Les autres ont

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bulletin

Fed./provincial transfers: where are Tories headed?

by Donald C. Savage

Ottawa is holding fast to its decision to cap the transfers to the provinces, thus saving \$6 billion between now and 1991. The \$6 billion retreat works out per province as follows:

PROVINCE	LOSS
Newfoundland	\$128,950,000
Prince Edward Island	27,800,000
Nova Scotia	192,842,000
New Brunswick	158,135,000
Quebec	1,449,149,000
Ontario	1,988,327,000
Manitoba	234,476,000
Saskatchewan	224,403,000
Alberta	519,537,000
British Columbia	639,382,000
Total	\$5,563,000,000

made by the Conservatives in 1984. (See box — page 12).

They would now prefer to spend federal money on particular programs where the benefits are clear, accountability is possible and the con-



CAUT Pres. Anderson asks faculty to pressure govt.

tinue to transfer unmarked money to the provinces in ever-increasing amounts. According to a January 5 report on the CBC, the Task Force set up by the Deputy Prime Minister has urged that the federal government vacate or scale down its commitments in areas where the provinces might be expected to pick up the costs. Could postsecondary education be one of these? CAUT pointed out the perils in 1976 and has suggested a solution by means of incentive payments to the provinces.

The federal government also heard last year from the

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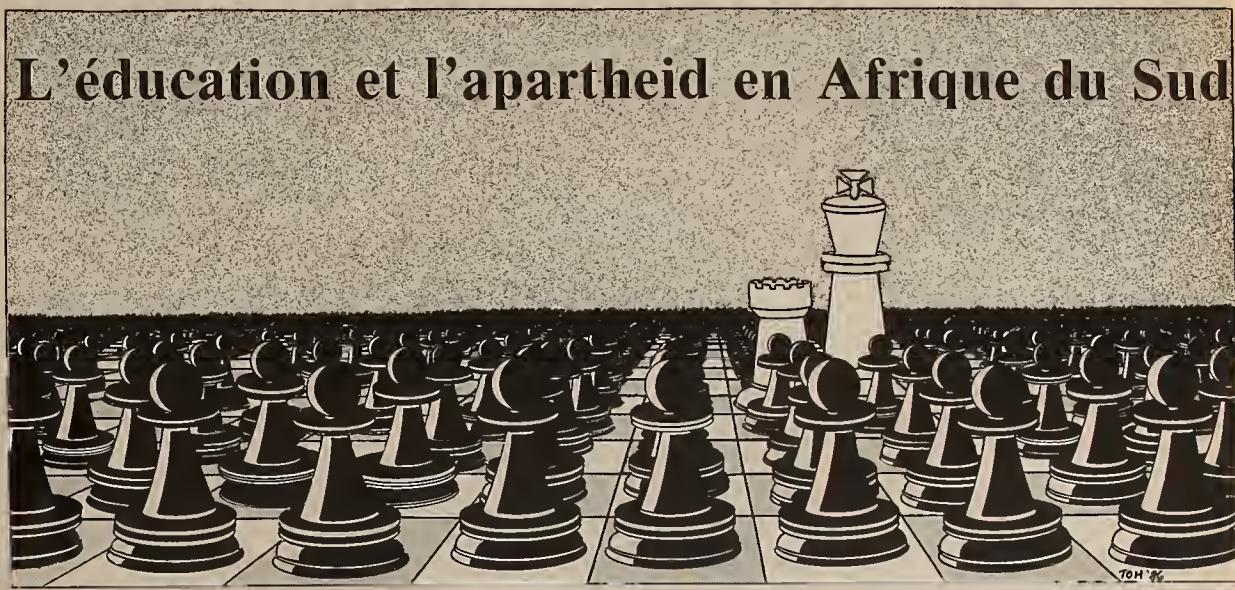
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par Peter Carstens,
Cranford Pratt et
Fred Wilson
Université de Toronto

“L’élément-inestimable de l’enseignement universitaire, c’est qu’il libère de façon imaginative l’esprit des étudiants, ce qui permet de former des penseurs et des explorateurs pour la génération suivante.” Ces vues exprimées par le principal Garry de l’Université Queen’s il a plus de vingt ans n’ont pas surpris la majorité des Canadiens à l’époque. Aujourd’hui, nous en sommes venus à considérer la libération de l’esprit et la liberté universitaire comme des droits inaliénables, si bien que la violation de ces droits, si petite soit-elle, fait aussi l’objet de protestations de la part du public.

L’apartheid, comme on le sait bien, imprègne toutes les institutions sud-africaines: politiques, économiques, religieuses, récréatives et éducatives. C'est ainsi qu'il atteint la vie de tous les Sud-africains et que des gens de toutes les races y s'opposent, y compris des universitaires des universités ouvertes. Nous voulons ici examiner brièvement les universités sud-africaines dans le contexte de l’apartheid et du point de vue, en particulier, de la liberté universitaire.

En Afrique du Sud, l’apartheid est aussi marqué dans l’enseignement que partout ailleurs. En général (sauf de très rares exceptions), les Sud-africains noirs, blancs, de couleur (mixtes) et asiatiques ont toujours reçu leur formation dans des établissements séparés depuis les premiers jours du pays. Après l’établissement de l’Union sud-africaine en 1910, il a été question de la possibilité de réformer cette pratique, mais la suppression de la distinction entre blancs et races de couleur

est devenue pour ainsi dire impossible après 1948 à l’arrivée au pouvoir du gouvernement nationaliste. Par exemple, en 1949, instruction a été donnée à la Commission d’enquête sur l’enseignement autochtone (Eiselen) de formuler

les principes et buts de l’enseignement des autochtones en tant que race indépendante, compte tenu de leur passé et de leur présent, de leurs qualités raciales propres, de leurs caractéristiques et de leurs aptitudes distinctives et de leurs besoins dans le cadre d’une évolution constante des conditions sociales; (de réformer en conséquence le système d’enseignement des autochtones; et) de mieux préparer les autochtones à leurs futures professions.

Ce mandat confié à la Commission Eiselen reflétait très nettement l’intention qu’avait le gouvernement d’enfoncer davantage le coin entre les groupes ethniques et de doter la majorité des Sud-africains d’un système d’enseignement inférieur à celui de la minorité blanche. En 1953, le gouvernement a voté la loi sur l’enseignement des Bantous, loi qui transférait le contrôle de l’enseignement africain des provinces à une division du Ministère des affaires autochtones et qui avait pour effet de canaliser les Africains vers un système d’enseignement inférieur et ne leur permettant pas de concurrencer les blancs, notamment à l’échelon universitaire.

La stratégie suivante pratiquée par le gouvernement pour contrôler l’enseignement africain a consisté à toucher à la liberté universitaire dans les universités. Cela aussi s'est fait par la coercition, soit par la promulgation de la loi faussement appelée loi sur l’extension de l’enseignement universitaire de 1958. La loi empêchait les non-blancs de fréquenter les deux principales universités ouvertes de Cape Town et du Witwatersrand et

creait, en remplacement, des collèges universitaires ethniques séparés. En 1958, il y avait un total de 1225 étudiants non blancs dans les universités ouvertes de langue anglaise (aucun n’avait été admis dans les universités afrikaines à l’époque).

Les protestations des professeurs contre cette loi dans les universités ouvertes ont été inutiles et le gouvernement a procédé à la création de collèges ethniques (appelés localement “tribaux”). Le Collège universitaire du Nord a été établi à Turfloop, dans le Transvaal, pour les Sothos et le Collège universitaire du

Zululand l'a été à Ngoye, au Natal, pour les Zoulous. Y a été ajouté le vieux et estimé Collège universitaire de Fort Hare qui a été transféré du conseil d’administration au ministre de l’Education bantou malgré d’âpres protestations et réservé en grande partie aux Xhosas. D’autres établissements ethniques ont été ajoutés plus tard.

Outre ces universités “bantoues”, une université “indienne” a été créée à Durban et l’Université de Western Cape a été établie pour les gens “de couleur” près de Cape Town. Le personnel de toutes ces nouvelles universités

est maigre et sous-qualifié; leurs ressources en fait de bibliothèque sont insuffisantes et la liberté d’entretenir et de discuter des idées qui mettent en cause le statu quo est énergiquement supprimée.

Tel a été l’esprit dans lequel des “universités” ont été créées pour les noirs sud-africains vers l’époque où les universités canadiennes étaient leur enseignement à des domaines nouveaux et en développement. Cela a aussi été une époque de protestation de la part de blancs sud-africains libéraux et radicaux qui considéraient les universités ouvertes établies comme constituant une bonne arène où l’avenir du pays pouvait se discuter librement tandis que le gouvernement faisait obstacle à la liberté politique dans le pays en général. Ainsi donc, même si les installations assurées aux noirs dans les nouvelles universités avaient été “égales” à celles dont disposaient les blancs, les universités ouvertes auraient quand même fait opposition à la loi sur l’extension de l’enseignement universitaire.

Il est vrai que certains noirs ont continué de pouvoir avoir accès aux universités ouvertes en obtenant un permis spécial du gouvernement parce que leur domaine d’études ne s’enseignait pas dans les collèges “tribaux”. Il y en a peu, cependant, qui l’obtenaient et souvent la formation secondaire inférieure assurée par l’enseignement bantou ne permettait guère de se qualifier pour accéder aux universités ouvertes. C'est ainsi que, à l’abolition du système des permis en 1983 dans le cadre du prétendu programme destiné à réduire certains des inconvenients de l’apartheid, le nombre de non-blancs, après demandant à être admis dans les universités ouvertes était encore petit après 25 ans d’enseignement secondaire inférieur. Pourtant, malgré tous

ces désavantages, le retour des non-blancs aux universités ouvertes a vite, selon plusieurs confrères sud-africains, revivifié le climat de beaucoup de salles de cours et amélioré de nombreux éléments de la vie dans ces universités. Cependant, le nombre de noirs (par rapport au chiffre de la population) admis dans ces universités est très petit, notamment dans les sciences naturelles.

L’inscription des noirs dans les universités ouvertes est aussi générée par la situation financière de ces étudiants et par la difficulté qu’ils ont à obtenir une place dans les résidences universitaires. A l’Université de Cape Town, par exemple, même s’il y a des vacances dans les résidences, le gouvernement refuse constamment de permettre aux noirs de s’y loger parce que cela irait à l’encontre des dispositions de la loi sur les régions collectives. On peut donc dire en général que, malgré les efforts faits afin d’intégrer certaines universités, les choses sont encore provisoires et se heurtent à la désapprobation gouvernementale, qui n’a pas changé depuis un siècle, de l’enseignement multiracial.

L’enseignement universitaire en Afrique du Sud comporte beaucoup d’autres éléments racistes. Dans la formation des médecins, par exemple, les étudiants en médecine noirs sont normalement privés de tout contact avec des patients blancs, bien que le contraire ne vaile pas pour les étudiants blancs. Des dénonciateurs politiques s’infiltrent constamment dans les salles de cours, les résidences universitaires et les conseils représentatifs des étudiants. Dans les collèges universitaires noirs, un certificat de bonne conduite délivré par les autorités des homelands (Ban-

Dans ce numéro du *Bulletin*, nous présentons des textes spéciaux sur l’Afrique du Sud et la question de se défaire des avoirs sud-africains en ce qui concerne les universités. La question de se défaire ou non de ces avoirs dans des sociétés ou des institutions financières liées à l’Afrique du Sud vient sur le tapis aux réunions des conseils d’administration et des groupements de professeurs et d’étudiants dans un nombre grandissant d’universités canadiennes.

En novembre, le McGill est devenu la première université canadienne à se défaire complètement de tous ces avoirs. Le mois suivant, l’Université de Toronto a opté pour des mesures moins drastiques quand le conseil d’administration a approuvé une politique sélective à cet égard. Dorénavant, les sociétés liées à l’Afrique du Sud et dans lesquelles l’université a une participation seront censées se conformer au code de conduite du gouvernement canadien. Cette décision a laissé mécontents plusieurs des opposants à Toronto et les efforts destinés à affirmer la position de l’université au sujet de l’Afrique du Sud sont censés se continuer. Pour sa part, l’ACPU, à la réunion de février de son Bureau de direction, avisera à recommander ou non une politique de l’ACPU sur la question.

Ces textes spéciaux sur l’Afrique du Sud et sur la question des avoirs se concentrent sur le débat qui s’est déroulé à l’Université de Toronto. Dans cette page et les suivantes, le lecteur trouvera des articles, des rapports et de la correspondance établis au cours du débat intervenu à Toronto et représentant divers points de vue.

Voir AFRIQUE/14

Education and apartheid in South Africa

"The priceless element in University teaching is the liberation of the minds of students in imaginative ways — a liberation that permits the development of thinkers and explorers for the next generation." Those sentiments expressed by Principal Corry of Queen's University over twenty years ago did not surprise the majority of Canadians at the time. And today we have come to regard liberation of the mind and academic freedom as inalienable rights, with the result that violations of these rights (no matter how small) are immediately challenged in public.

Apartheid, as is well-known, permeates all South African institutions — political, economic, religious, recreational, and educational. In this sense, it affects the lives of all South Africans, and persons of all races have been active in opposing it, including academics in the open universities. Here it is our intention to look briefly at South African universities within the context of the apartheid system paying particular attention to academic freedom.

In South Africa apartheid is as marked in the education system as it is anywhere else. In general (with only very few exceptions) Black, White, Coloured (Mixed), and Asian South Africans received their education in separate institutions over the years dating back to early colonial days. After the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 the possibility of reforming this practice was in the air, but the removal of the colour bar from education became virtually impossible after 1948 when the Nationalist government came to power. For example, in 1949 the Eiselen Commission on Native Education was instructed to formulate

the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration. (to reform the existing system of Native education accordingly; and) to prepare Natives more effi-

ciently for their future occupations

This charge given to the Eiselen Commission reflected very clearly the Government's intention to drive the wedge still further between ethnic groups and to provide the majority of South Africa's population with a system of education inferior to that of the white minority. Thus by 1953 the Government had passed the Bantu Education Act. Through this Act control of African education was transferred from the provinces to a division of the Native Affairs Department, and Africans were effectively channelled into an inferior system of education that made it impossible for them to compete with whites, notably at the university level.

The Government's next strategy to control African education was to tamper with academic freedom in the universities. This too was achieved by coercion through the promulgation of the misnamed Extension of University Education Act of 1958. This piece of legislation prevented non-whites from attending the two main open universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, and created separate ethnic university colleges as an alternative. In 1958 there were a total of 1225 non-white students at the open English-language universities (none had been admitted to the closed Afrikaans — language universities at that time).

Faculty protests in the open universities to this legislation proved useless and the Government went ahead to create ethnic (known locally as "tribal") colleges. The University College of the North was established at Turfloop in the Transvaal for the Sotho people, and the University College of Zululand at Nqoyi in Natal for the Zulu people. To these were added the old and respected University College of Fort Hare which was transferred from the Governor to the Minister of Bantu Education against bitter protest, and reserved largely for the Xhosa people. Other ethnic campuses were added later.

In addition to these "Bantu" universities, an "Indian" university was created in Durban, and the University of the Western Cape was established near Cape Town for "Coloured" people. All these new universities are poorly staffed by underqualified academics, their library resources are inadequate, and the freedom to entertain and discuss ideas, which challenge the status quo, is strongly suppressed. Such was the spirit in which "universities" were created for South African blacks round about the time that Canadian universities were ex-

by Peter Carstens,
Cranford Pratt
and Fred Wilson
University of Toronto

panding their programs into new and developing fields. It was a time also of protest by radical and liberal South African Whites who saw the established open universities as representing an appropriate arena where the future of the country could be freely debated while political freedom was being curbed by the government in the country generally. Thus even if the facilities offered to blacks in the new universities had been "equal" to those available to whites, the open universities would still have opposed the Extension of University Education Act.

It is true that some blacks continued to be able to gain admission to the open universities by obtaining special permits from the Government because their areas of academic interest were not available at the "tribal" colleges. But few were successful in their appeals, and often the inferior secondary school training provided by Bantu Education made it difficult to qualify for admission to the open universities. Thus when the permit system was abolished in 1983 as part of the cosmetic program of reducing some of the inconveniences of apartheid, the number of qualified non-Whites applying for admission to the open universities was still small after 25 years of inferior secondary

school education. Yet, in spite of all these disadvantages the return of non-Whites to the open universities, according to several South African colleagues, soon revitalized the atmosphere in many lecture halls, and enhanced many facets of life in these universities. But the number of blacks (relative to population size) admitted to these institutions is very small, notably in programs in the natural sciences.

Black enrolment at the open universities is also hampered by the financial status of these students and the problem of obtaining accommodation in university residences. At the University of Cape Town, for example, despite vacancies in residences, the government has consistently refused to permit blacks to occupy them because this would contravene provisions of the Group Areas Act. In general then we can say that, although attempts have been made to integrate some universities, it is still tentative and faces government disapproval of multiracial education that has not altered for over a generation.

There are many other racist aspects of university education in South Africa. In the training of physicians, for example, black medical students are normally debarred from any contact with white patients although the opposite rule

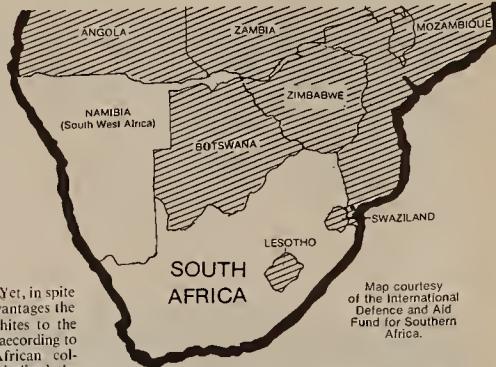
does not apply to white students. Political informers are constantly infiltrating lecture rooms, university residences, and student representative councils. At the black university colleges certificates of good behaviour issued by authorities in the homelands (Bantustans) are sometimes required. Foreign scholars are sometimes denied visas to visit the open universities, and some South African academics have been denied passports to visit foreign universities.

Books of various kinds are banned and restricted, and special permission has to be obtained to consult them. The banning of individual scholars has, of course, an effect on publishing since one of the by-products of banning, under which individuals are not allowed to travel freely and associate with friends and colleagues, is that no publication may quote the banned person. Thus, the general repressive legislation in South Africa has both direct and indirect effects on free thought and academic freedom in South Africa.

There may have been some liberalizing of censorship in recent years, but how odd it would be in Canada to find that the works of Lenin were banned. The whole question of "undesirable publications" is dealt with by the Security Police who keep themselves informed also of the ideological positions of faculty members. During the 1960s when there were academic vacancies in Canada, the United States, Britain, and Australia, many South African academics left the country because of harassment or fear of harassment by the Security Police.

Restrictions on academic freedom thus interfere directly and indirectly with both research and teaching, particularly in the social sciences. Many black areas are closed to anthropological and sociological research, and when permission to carry out fieldwork is granted, researchers are carefully watched by government officials and the Security Police. One visiting social anthropologist was granted research clearance to study contemporary race relations provided he did not talk to blacks!

Despite government pressure to curtail academic freedom and the liberation of



the mind in all South African Universities and colleges, one cannot but be impressed by the determination of so many faculty and students to uphold "the four essential freedoms" of a university — to determine for itself who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study.

Over the years, however, often at considerable personal cost, individual scholars have gone much further than those four freedoms. Some lost their jobs for their views and were banned from teaching, while others were arrested and held in detention. Many have extended the concept of academic freedom to a much wider field. For example, in 1974 the Academic Freedom Committees of the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand expanded their 1957 definition of academic freedom to include "the defense of social and personal freedom outside" as well as inside the university.

We should not forget, moreover, the protests by black students in the "tribal" colleges against state control, and their demands for educational facilities and standards equal to those found in the white universities. Thus, if academic freedom in white universities is restricted, it is even worse for students and the few liberal faculty in the black universities. The entire student body at the University of Transkei was expelled in 1984 for refusing to end a lecture boycott.

But not all South African universities and faculty oppose the policies of the ruling class.

See EDUCATION/16



In this edition of the *Bulletin* we present a special feature on South Africa and the divestment debate as it pertains to our universities. The question of whether or not to divest of holdings in corporations or financial institutions linked to South Africa is being raised at governing councils and meetings of faculty and student groups on a growing number of campuses across Canada.

In November, McGill became the first Canadian university to totally divest itself of all South African-linked holdings. The following month, the University of Toronto opted for less drastic measures when its governing council approved a policy of selective divestment. In future, South African-linked companies in which the University has holdings will be expected to comply with the Canadian government's code of conduct. This policy decision left many of the proponents of divestment at U. of T. dissatisfied and efforts to strengthen the University's stand on South Africa are expected to continue. For its part, the CAUT, at its Board of Directors meeting in February, will be considering whether or not to recommend a CAUT policy on divestment.

This special feature on South Africa and the divestment issue centres on the debate as it has unfolded at the University of Toronto. On this and the following pages of the *Bulletin*, the reader will find articles, reports and correspondence prepared during the course of the debate at U. of T. reflecting a variety of viewpoints on the issue.



South Africa: two opposing views on divestment

The case for divestment

The following is a shortened version of a brief submitted by the U. of T. Divestment Committee in November, 1984 to the University of Toronto Governing Council.

We are calling upon the Governing Council to divest itself of all holdings in banks which do business with the South African government or its agencies and in corporations which invest in South Africa.

In so doing, we are asking the University of Toronto to join the growing body of world opinion advocating the total isolation of the apartheid regime. The apartheid policies of the South African government are recognized globally as measures of unparalleled repression and brutality. Apartheid is the entrenched subordination of the majority of the population under the control of a minority, white elite. As long as foreign investment, both direct and indirect, is poured into South Africa, the white government will be able to maintain its blatantly racist ideology and practices and deny to its non-white members any vestige of human dignity.

While the Governing Council has the responsibility to maximize the rate of return on its investments, it would be morally and socially irresponsible to pursue this objective in disregard for its wider social impact. Business cannot be divorced from the political and social environment in which it operates.

As this brief argues, any investment in South Africa inevitably serves to strengthen and perpetuate apartheid. Investment in that country is, therefore, by definition, "socially injurious" for it reinforces the chains of oppression which bind the majority black population. Total divestment is the most forceful, moral, and effective action that U of T could take against the apartheid regime and the corporations and banks which support it.

Because of U of T's enor-

mous prestige and influence, its divestment of South Africa-related stocks would contribute immensely to the mounting pressure on corporations and banks to withdraw from South Africa. Such action on the part of U of T would lend legitimacy to the demand for corporate withdrawal and prompt other institutions to do likewise. As more shareholders followed suit and encouraged others not to invest in South Africa, the corporations and banks would be forced to re-evaluate their policies, if not out of moral concern, at least out of economic fear.

Divestment would be a concrete statement of abhorrence for the institutionalized racism and oppression legislated by the South African minority regime. The renunciation of all ties with banks and corporations connected with South Africa is the only way to lend credence to U of T's condemnation and rejection of complicity in South Africa's brutal apartheid system.

Proposed Governing Council Motion

That the Governing Council of the University of Toronto publicly condemn in principle, all investment in banks which have not adopted a policy of making no loans to the government of South Africa or its agencies, and in companies with investments in South Africa and that it commit itself to making no further investments in such enterprises, and further;

That it agree to set in motion, within a period of no more than two years, the procedures for divesting of its holdings in banks which have not adopted a policy of making no loans to the government of South Africa or its agencies, and in companies with investments in South Africa, and that a public statement accompany the sale of shares.

The role of foreign investment in South Africa

There is no evidence to support the contention that foreign investment has served as an instrument for social change in South Africa. On the contrary, the record of the past twenty years clearly shows that foreign investment, rather than liberalizing apartheid, has in fact, bolstered it. In the words of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Africa (1978), "The net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's apartheid regime." It does so in a number of ways:

First, it brings in the capital South Africa needs so badly to offset its chronic balance of payments deficit. In this



Faculty and students from Rhodes University, S.A., quietly protest the political policies of their country's government.

regard, the western banking system has been crucial to the regime's survival (see section on banks). Secondly, foreign companies bring in a particular type of capital providing the apartheid system with the sophisticated technology and equipment necessary for its efficiency and survival.

The importation of capital is of more than purely quantitative importance. In many instances capital inflows are in fact the finance for purchasing sophisticated goods, especially machinery, which cannot be made in South Africa... What this means is that foreign capital cannot be replaced simply by finding new sources of finance in South Africa. These capital imports are in fact 'irreplaceable' (Sean Geraghty, cited in Litvak et al., *South Africa: Foreign Investment and Apartheid*)

Thirdly, foreign investment has been instrumental in propelling South Africa towards economic self-sufficiency, making the regime less susceptible to international economic sanctions. Corporations not only plough their profits back into South Africa but also pay millions of dollars in taxes to the South African government. Foreign investment also bolsters the credibility and stature of the apartheid regime, providing it with international links, and in effect, represents an economic vote of confidence in racist South Africa. According to the World Council of Churches,

Transnationals control the most vital sectors of the South African economy providing few new jobs, usually keeping wages based on the exploitation of cheap labour, and thus further contributing to the maintenance of the existing system." (B. Sjollema, *Isolating Apartheid*, World Council of Churches, p. 13)

See DIVESTMENT/6

The case against divestment

Under the terms of the Governing Council's Policy on Social and Political Issues with Respect to University Investment, dated December 21st, 1978, the University of Toronto Divestment Committee submitted a Brief last November "calling upon the Governing Council to divest itself of all holdings in banks which do business with the South African Government, or its agencies, and in corporations which invest in South Africa." Accompanying this Brief, was a Petition supporting its purpose signed by 1,375 individuals comprising a minimum of 25 from each of three different constituencies of the University community. As required by the Policy, the evidence has been examined by your Advisory Board consisting of one Governing Council representative from each constituency (teaching staff, student, administration, alumni and government appointee members) and chaired by the Vice-President — Business Affairs.

The task confronting your Board was to determine if, within the context of the Governing Council's Policy Statement, the concept of social injury applies to the companies and banks in the University of Toronto's investment portfolio which were identified by the Divestment Committee as doing business in South Africa. If these companies and banks were considered to be guilty of inflicting social injury on their employees or other persons, the Policy provides for several possible courses of action. Even if social injury could not be proved, we felt that we should address the much broader issue of divestment as a concrete expression of opposition to the racism and oppression practised by the South African Government.

Your Board has held six meetings during the course of its investigation, and has examined a great deal of printed material including statements of policy from the Government of Canada, other leading universities and several corporations. During our deliberations we met with a representative of the Canadian banks, a personnel officer of one of the listed corporations and two representatives of the Divestment Committee. While this could hardly be considered an exhaustive survey of interested parties, we feel that these discussions, combined with the facts and opinions contained in the printed material made available to us, and, of course, the Brief itself, have provided us with adequate information and opinion upon which we can base our conclusions.

Statement on apartheid

It must be stated, at the outset, that the Board is unanimous in its condemnation of the policy of racial

This is a report of the Presidential Advisory Board on Social and Political Aspects of University Investment prepared for University of Toronto President G.E. Connell.

discrimination practiced by the Government of South Africa. The denial of human and civil rights to the black majority and the police-state tactics required to maintain the entrenched subordination of the black majority, are abhorrent to any person who cherishes the ideals of Western democracy. In its Brief, the Divestment Committee has described, in some detail, the results of the discriminatory practices of Apartheid policies, enshrined in law, and we have no reason to question the facts and figures presented.

The concept of "social injury"

According to the Governing Council's Statement, "social injury" is "the injurious impact which the activities of a company are found to have on consumers, employees, or other persons, particularly including activities which violate or frustrate the enforcement of rules of domestic or international law intended to protect individuals against deprivation of health, safety or basic freedoms." It does not necessarily follow that, by merely operating in South Africa, foreign-owned companies are inflicting "social injury" on their employees. Indeed, the positive effects of foreign companies which pursue policies of non-discrimination and provide training courses for their black

See CASE AGAINST/8



The case for divestment ...5

Bank stepped in to save the regime from financial collapse by pouring in over \$150 million in loans (TCCR, p. 9). Massive foreign investment resumed, ensuring the viability of the apartheid system and neutralizing any internal or external pressure on South Africa's racist government. According to Renate Pratt, Co-ordinator for the Task Force on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, there is no record of foreign corporations or banks claiming at that time that their presence in South Africa would bring about beneficial change to black South Africans (Pratt, p. 33).

Corporate collaboration with apartheid

The South African government has enacted specific laws to ensure continued corporate collaboration. The Protection of Business Act (1978) makes the enforcement of "foreign judgements, orders and directions" illegal and prohibits foreign corporations from providing "information relating to business in compliance with foreign orders, directions or letters of request" (cited in Pratt, p. 35). The Key Points Act (1980) allows the Minister of Defence to declare any company a "key point" and require that it store weapons on its premises and train a company militia in preparation to defend the plant in the event of unrest. Non-compliance carries a \$25,000 fine and/or five years imprisonment for company executives.

The law requires all companies designated as "key" industries to co-operate with the South African Defence Forces in the event of "civil" (i.e. "black") unrest. Under the terms of the Act, "key" industries will be offered financial incentives to buy weapons and other security equipment and to train company security guards. A number of subsidiaries of foreign corporations have been asked to form military commando units among their white workers. These military units will be responsible for guarding industrial plants from sabotage and unrest — presumably perpetrated by "black" workers and members of the "black" community. Under a variety of heavy fines and/or imprisonment of their top executives, foreign subsidiaries would be forced to obey the commands of the South African Defence Forces. They may not inform their

parent companies whether they have been designated "key points". Nor may they report on any of their security-related activities. (Elizabeth Schmidt, "One Step — In the Wrong Direction: The Sullivan Principles as a Strategy for Opposing Apartheid", May 1982, p. 4).

The South African case against divestment

The main arguments

The South African line tends to concentrate on three different areas. First, there is the allegation that the standard of living for whites and blacks in South Africa is higher than anywhere else in the region. Statistics that detail the flow of migrant labour across the Mozambican border are sometimes used to back up this assertion. The general thrust of this line of argument is that despite apartheid, South Africa "takes care of its blacks".

Secondly, as recent ads in *Business Week* illustrate, the South African Ministry of Information takes great pride in pointing out the amount of spending and investment in "homeland" areas as well as the various social welfare programs for blacks. For instance, one advertisement claims that between 1970 and 1980, "Government expenditure on education for blacks increased by 343%" (*Business Week*, Dec. 5, 1983). Another full page ad states "Imagine buying a four-roomed state built house for as little as \$880" in reference to a new policy of making cheap houses available to low income black families (*Business Week*, Dec. 26, 1983). An issue raised by various South African agencies in postscript to these observations is that of reform: "Many aspects of South African life have changed and are changing at an ever-increasing rate" (*ibid.*). Phenomena like the housing program, labour legislation, and of course, constitutional reforms are cited as major progressive changes.

A third issue raised by South Africa is that of the "strategic" value of the Republic to the West. Besides putting apartheid into the context of East/West relations, this argument claims that the maintenance of South Africa as an ally to the West will ensure the latter's continued access to vital minerals and products which South Africa exports. (*A Case Against Disengagement in the South African Economy*, Centre for Business Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, July, 1980).

According to these premises, continued or new investment in South Africa is a fountain of fruitful opportunities. "The future is exciting because we have the people, the dedication and a buoyant economy to enable us to keep on providing opportunities and improving the quality of life of all our people." (*Business Week*, Dec. 5, 1983).

Counter-arguments

The living standard of blacks

Aside from the pejorative and paternalistic implications of this position, the substance of these arguments is vitally flawed. First of all, South Africa's wealth has been generated for centuries by black workers who have systematically been barred from reaping any of the benefits of the value created by their labour. As has been outlined earlier, the existence of a cheap and repressed black labour force was a major factor in South Africa's dynamic growth.

South African blacks prefer to compare their living standards to those of whites in their own country, namely the whites in whose houses, farms, factories and townships they work. The poverty which is endemic in the bantustans and black townships is directly proportional to the wealth accumulated in the "white sector". This fact has been documented in numerous accounts of South Africa's history.

As for the issue of how blacks are "taken care of",

the whole system of bantustans and pass laws intact. Even some of these token moves are being reversed. For example, a proposal came before the Pretoria City Council recently to set up a whites only Central Business Area.

The Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions

The appointment in 1977 of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions was supposed to herald in a new era of reform. The Wiehahn Commission was charged with investigating various labour acts which had been passed between 1953 and 1957 and to report on "the adjustment of the existing system for the regulation of labour" with the objective of making it operate more "effectively".

The result of the Commission's deliberations was the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act of 1979. This legislation was presented to the international community as proof of genuine reform. Superficially, this was true as the Act provided for the legal recognition of black trade unions and the abolition of section 77 of the 1957 Industrial Conciliation Act which provided for certain categories of jobs to be reserved exclusively for whites.

efficiently." It also stated that "it is not true that whites and non-whites will necessarily have to share the same facilities" (*Working for Freedom*).

In a similar fashion, the Riekert Commission was charged with investigating legislation concerning the utilization of manpower, ie. investigating the hated pass laws, influx controls, and labour bureaus (which are supposed to ensure that "the right quantity of labour of the right quality will be available at the right time and at the right place to satisfy demands" (*Riekert Report in to Legislation Affecting Utilization of Manpower, 1979*).

Like the Wiehahn Commission Report, this document was hailed as a great move toward reform mainly because of its misleading rephrasing of the discriminatory legislation in less overtly racist terms. However, the essence of the report's recommendations was to provide stability in the black labour force by extending some privileges (not rights) to "legal" urban blacks while at the same time tightening up on the control of the remainder of the black South African population, in other words, to streamline and make the functioning of apartheid more efficient and less visible in the international community. The Commission said nothing about changing the basic pillars of apartheid which demand that eventually every black person will become a citizen of an "independent" bantustan with no rights save that of being free to be exploited by the white economy.

The new constitution

On November 2, 1983, the white electorate voted by a margin of two to one to ratify a new constitution. Apologists for the regime hailed it as a further step in the direction of reform. The constitution provides for the setting up of a parliament comprising three separate chambers for whites, "coloureds", and "Indians". Legislative affairs are distinguished between "own" and "general". "Own" affairs are to be dealt with by the racially divided houses while "general" affairs are to be handled by the cabinet which is appointed by the President. The President is essentially elected by the chamber of white deputies and has extensive powers of veto. The President is also very powerful — his decisions are final and cannot be appealed in any court of law. It is also interesting that the government refused to include a bill of rights or a constitutional court to protect the rights of individuals. This is likely because the courts would be "flooded" with claims that a bill of rights would contradict the discriminatory laws which the government would be loath to repeal (SAIRR).

The most blatant injustice in the constitution is that it totally ignores the black majority. In fact, the constitutional act provides that the "control and administration of black affairs shall vest in the State President." In the

campaign leading up to the white referendum, the government repeatedly emphasized that it had no plans nor could it ever envisage the inclusion of blacks in an integrated parliament. In other words, the basic structures of apartheid were to be consolidated not loosened by the new constitution. As Professor G.R. Bozzoli, former chancellor of the University of Witwatersrand, put it,

...the constitution did not represent a step in the right direction, but only a change in the procedure without a change of heart. To accept a new constitution which disregards 70% of South Africa was a crime against humanity (SAIRR).

In summary, the move in recent times has not been in the direction of gradual reform, but rather there has been a concerted effort to remove the bottlenecks which impede the smooth functioning of apartheid. This has required a tightening up of controls on rural or "superfluous" blacks alongside attempts to co-opt small numbers of the non-white population into joining forces with the whites against black South Africans. The growing violent opposition to apartheid and the government's brutal repression of all dissent makes the notion of reform ludicrous. Recently it was reported that the number of people detained for political reasons this year was up 300% over last year (*Johannesburg Star*, Oct. 22, 1984). In reporting on recent police raids, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee astutely noted that

Each incidence of violence and detention renders the much vaunted reforms meaningless. The recent unrest and detention must be seen in the context of the exclusion of Africans from meaningful power sharing...the imposition of self-interested, rent-hungry communal councillors on townships, the continuance of gutter education and the prospect of starvation in a rural dumping ground for surplus people.

The effectiveness of sanctions

As to the effectiveness of sanctions, we suggest that impact has already been made in the following areas; on South African access to markets, on access to loan capital, on the Republic's international terms of trade, on the cost of oil imports, on international diplomatic, military and economic relations, on air and

See CASE FOR/8



President's report on South African investment

by Dr. G.E. Connell

Among the individuals who make up the University community, a great many, probably an overwhelming majority, deeply deplore the prevailing political doctrine in South Africa and the consequences for the blacks of South Africa. It is likely that a substantial number of these conduct themselves in a way which avoids involvement in South African affairs. Some are engaged in deliberate political action directed to bringing about change in South Africa. Such actions on the part of individuals are, in my judgment, admirable. They are free to make their personal judgments and to engage in such political action as they choose, within the limits prescribed by law.

Whatever the beliefs and attitudes of the individuals who make up the University community, the position of the University as an institution is fundamentally different in nature. This Council, and various bodies and individuals acting in its name, are constantly engaged in moral judgments. There are clearly values held by the University, in common with almost all those who live and work in it, which are given expression in our policies and which guide our conduct. Such values apply in our internal governance and conduct; they also come into play in our interactions with the world around us. We cannot avoid moral judgments in the conduct of our affairs, nor should we.

I would distinguish, however, between the exercise of moral judgment in our transactions and engagement in political action. I would define political action by the University as a deliberate effort on the part of this Council, or in its name, to change political structures, governments and policies in this country or elsewhere. The University does have a voice in political matters which are directly relevant to its interests; it has normally refrained from political action in matters not relevant to university affairs.

It is fundamental to the life of universities that they be protected from political interference. This is essential to safeguard the freedom of inquiry of individuals within the

In his report to the University of Toronto's Governing Council, President George Connell supports the view of his advisory board that the actions of Canadian companies doing business in South Africa are not "socially injurious" and he declines to recommend divestment.

university community and of their right to engagement in social issues and political action. The university would strongly resist any action by government or individuals or corporations outside the university to use their economic and political influence to constrain the freedom of the university. If the university, above all other institutions, values this immunity, it should not use its own economic power to influence the conduct of other individuals and corporations. Yet this is what the University of Toronto Divestment Committee has proposed:

"Because of U of T's enormous prestige and influence, its divestment of South Africa-related stocks would contribute immensely to the mounting pressure on corporations and banks to withdraw from South Africa... This would be a constructive and positive means of bringing the weight of the marketplace to bear on the enterprises in question."

I believe that this is precisely what the University should not do. The proper responsibility of the Governing Council is to govern the University. Council should not embark on a campaign to correct injustices outside the University, in Canada and abroad. If Council were to take on such work, it would not only fail the University, it would place in jeopardy what the University can do to contribute effectively to good government and the elimination of injustice.

I have acknowledged that the university must make moral judgments in the conduct of its affairs. One class of judgment which we must make frequently is the assessment of corporations with whom we have business transactions. We would, for example, normally assess corporations from which we are intending to buy products on the basis of the quality of their products and conformity to our specifications of price, reliability etc. It is possible to imagine, in certain circumstances, that we might decline to conduct business with a corporation because its ethical standards were an affront to those of the University. The University might, in such circumstances, dissociate itself from a continuing relationship with that company, either as a customer or investor.

It is not feasible for the University to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the conduct of the many hundreds of corporations with which it has business relationships. To attempt to do so would be extremely costly and unproductive. It is our tacit assumption that corporations which conform to Canadian law also conform to standards which the University might expect in its commercial relations.

The policy of the Governing

Council, which was adopted in 1978, provides a means by which a special review of a matter of ethical concern may be initiated. The policy permits individuals or groups to prepare a brief and requires that there be 300 signatures as evidence of support of members of the University community for the brief. These steps then lead to the appointment of an Advisory Board under the chairmanship of the Vice-President, Business Affairs, and on which the various constituencies of the Governing Council are represented. The Board therefore represents a cross section of the University and is commissioned, in effect, to deliberate in depth on our behalf.

The task of a Board acting to assess the conduct of corporations is not an easy one. There are a number of problems and constraints of which the Board must be aware, for example:

(1) A body acting on behalf of the university in making moral judgments must address itself to the task with great care. If its task is to discover whether a corporation or a group of corporations is acting in a manner which is morally reprehensible, it should have the same regard for due process and justice as would a tribunal dealing with an alleged offence by an individual.

(2) The Board should be aware that its findings may set important precedents. A judgement applied to a particular situation might, by analogy, be applicable to other circumstances. Care should be taken that the University is not put in an untenable position by the precedent.

(3) The Board should pay serious attention to other consequences of its recommendations. If the University is to adopt a particular policy, it is important to ask whether this measure is costly to the University or to particular groups or individuals within the University or outside it. Will the adverse consequences of the measure be shared by those who are advocating it?

(4) A moral judgement should be such that it would gain a broad consensus of support in the University community. If a recommendation were to stir up widespread controversy, the impact of the recommendation would be seriously attenuated.

(5) The Board must ask whether a particular course which it is considering might be a violation of law or of implicit trusteeship on the part of the University.

I received the report of the Presidential Advisory Board

on May 9, 1985. Since that time, I have reviewed very carefully the report and the brief of the University of Toronto Divestment Committee. I believe that the Advisory Board has served us well. It has conducted a scrupulously careful review and has come to reasonable conclusions which are six in number. I shall cite in turn each of the conclusions and recommendations and my assessment of them.

(1) We concur with the University of Toronto Divestment Committee's condemnation of the policy

will read it carefully. It is not to be expected that all members of the University will agree with this conclusion, nor with the arguments supporting it, but I believe that the representative nature of the Board gives assurance of widespread support.

(3) The divestment of the University's holdings in companies and banks doing business in South Africa is, therefore, not an appropriate response by the members of Governing Council to a concern with Apartheid practices.

moral or other non-business factors as proper considerations to influence the exercise of a trustee's judgment and discretion in investment matters.

Although I recognize the potential legal force of this argument, I am inclined to the view that I have urged above, that there might be circumstances in which a governing body would be persuaded that a moral imperative outweighed a legal argument, and acted accordingly.

(6) The Vice-President — Business Affairs should be asked to monitor the



CANA PRESS

School under siege: crowd flees police tear gas and rubber bullets during confrontation at closed school in Athlone, South Africa.

of racial discrimination practised by the South African Government.

It is appropriate for the Board to state the consensus of its members with regard to the underlying issue which they are addressing. The principle of racial equality is firmly entrenched in our national Constitution, our provincial statutes and in the traditions of this University. I believe that no special action by me or by the Governing Council is required to confirm our collective convictions on this matter.

I accept this conclusion and I will not, therefore, recommend divestment.

(4) We recommend that Governing Council strongly urge the federal government to complete its current review of its Code of Conduct for Canadian Companies Operating in South Africa and make the reporting requirements of this Code mandatory.

I have weighed this recommendation carefully because of my concern about political action by Council. My conclusion is that the recommendation is cast in a form which the University can reasonably adopt. It is, in my view, advantageous to the University that the federal government clarify and update its policy regarding the conduct of Canadian companies in South Africa. I shall therefore introduce resolution to that effect.

(5) As the members of Governing Council are trustees of the funds under the Council's care, we do not believe they can depart from the "prudent man" rule of investing. As generally interpreted, this rule does not include political, social,



The case for divestment ...6

shipping links, and on access of South African-based organizations to licenses and technical assistance.

Unfortunately, because sanctions are not implemented or enforced on the scale that world opinion has demanded, the impact has not been enough to significantly alter the balance of power in South Africa. However, various projections have been made that economic sanctions, if observed, would severely hamper the ability of the apartheid regime to carry on as usual.

Corporate withdrawal — the effect of sanctions on blacks

There have been suggestions that black South Africans would be the hurt the most if sanctions against South Africa were stringently observed. For centuries, the racial division of labour under white minority rule and apartheid policies has meant that the white minority — not the black majority — benefits firstly and mostly from economic growth. Similarly, whites rather than blacks are most vulnerable to any economic sanctions.

A growing body of economic evidence shows that sanctions would cause no increase in suffering for the majority of the black workforce:

- 1) The 3 million (30% of the black wage earners) who are already unemployed;
- 2) the estimated 1 million black farmworkers; insofar as white farm owners are moving to capital-intensive production made possible by imports of Western technology;
- 3) The over one-half million black mine workers similarly threatened by the loss of jobs due to technological change introduced by the mining conglomerates;
- 4) The 40% of the black workforce in the capital-intensive manufacturing sector which has relied on foreign technology and expertise would be hurt much less than the two-thirds of white workers in this sector;
- 5) The remaining 60% of the black workforce in the labour-intensive consumer goods manufacturing sector who would have greater job protection if sanctions slowed down job-threatening mechanization;
- 6) The tertiary sector (government services, transportation, communications, finance,

etc.) has a 70:30% white to black job ratio and here again sanctions would not greatly affect the large numbers of blacks employed as cleaners and domestic workers; and

7) Sanctions would have no detrimental impact on the millions of blacks who make out a minimal agricultural subsistence in the bantustans where they produce for no market but only for their own consumption.

In sum, the larger proportion of waged-black workers and the estimated 10 million bantustan population would not be hurt by international sanctions; in fact, they would benefit precisely to the extent that such sanctions were successful in weakening the power of white transnational capital.

The demand for corporate withdrawal has been initiated by black South Africans themselves. Virtually every black leader and organization

South Africa, while the others have still maintained financial ties.

Although there have been some positive responses by some of the banks on the question of divestment, there are some issues which must be addressed. Firstly, it is quite evident that the banks' major activities in South Africa are through international associations with other banks. Without a clear public policy stating that no further loans will go to the South African government and its affiliated agencies, Canadian banks remain unaccountable and difficult to monitor in regards to this issue.

Details on the proportion of the overall bank claims held by Canadian banks are therefore difficult to obtain. However, information secured from other sources or from the banks' own general statements indicate that the major Canadian chartered banks — the Royal Bank, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Mon-

U of T's South Africa-related investments

U. of T's investments in banks which deal with South Africa and companies with direct investments in South Africa are as follows:

Corporation	Number of Shares	Value
Alcan Aluminum Ltd.	22,962	\$785,193.06
Falconbridge Nickel Mines	320	13,315.00
Moore Corp.	26,367	943,646.59
Noranda Mines Ltd.	1,190	20,205.00
Exxon	1,388	31,113.82
Xerox	5,000	298,551.88
Bank of Montreal	16,347	467,370.34
Bank of Nova Scotia	24,977	520,298.36
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce	4,975	87,840.76
Royal Bank	26,540	567,235.76
Total		\$3,734,790.08

This represents a total of 23.4% of U of T's stock holdings. (Data as of May 31, 1983)

has called for corporate divestment and economic sanctions. This list includes murdered Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, the late Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli, and long-time political prisoner Nelson Mandela.

The late Nobel Peace Prize Winner Chief Albert Luthuli: "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail limited hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But as it is a method which shortens the days of blood, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay."

The role of banks

The question of international banks' relationship with South Africa has merited much attention in view of the South African government's treatment of its non-white population. As with foreign trade and investment, international bank loans are of strategic importance in helping the minority white government maintain its repressive military state machinery in support of the apartheid system. Of the five major Canadian banks, only one, the Toronto-Dominion has actively withdrawn its contacts with

Treaty, the Bank of Nova Scotia, and the Toronto-Dominion Bank — have all been involved in making loans to the South African government and to its state owned corporations, or in private sector loans.

All five major Canadian banks have reassured concerned investors that they are opposed to apartheid and that they do not support its continuing existence. Only one of these five banks, the Toronto-Dominion, has taken a categorical stand against further loans to the South African government and its agencies. A second bank, the Royal Bank, has hedged its commitment to only exclude balance of payment and general purpose loans. To date, the other three have refused to issue any explicit policy statements, and perspectives in interpreting the present South African situation vary among them.

The Taskforce reports that in reviewing the South African beneficiaries of Canadian bank loans and public or private bonds, one is struck by the enormous frequency of credit to the Iron and Steel

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workers cannot be overlooked. The Divestment Committee, in its Brief, did not present any specific evidence of alleged "social injury" by any of the companies identified by the Committee.

The purpose of divestment

Simply stated, the argument in favour of divestment is based on the assumption that such action by this University, properly publicized, will encourage other universities and major investors, to take similar action. If sufficient amounts of stock are offered for sale, the price will be depressed and the corporations and banks affected will be forced, in due course, into suspending their activities in South Africa. The ultimate objective of divestment is the complete withdrawal of foreign capital from the Republic and the total economic and social isolation of South Africa in the hope that this action will force the Government to cease its Apartheid practices.

The case against divestment as a first step in the isolation of South Africa

There is a strong body of well-informed opinion that opposes the concept of isolation for the purpose of changing the Apartheid practices of the South African Government. As recently as last November, Stephen Lewis, Canada's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations, re-stated the Government's policy of leaving "the way open for contacts and dialogue which, in themselves, increase Canada's capacity to encourage some process of change in South Africa." He further affirmed that "the Canadian Government rejects the concept that total isolation of South Africa would somehow promote fundamental reform in that country. It wouldn't happen." Where specific embargoes have been applied, such as on military equipment, South Africa has responded by building up its own productive capacity so that it is now 85% self-sufficient in this area. There is no historical evidence to support the view that economic isolation will bring about domestic social change: it will merely eliminate the opportunity for dialogue and persuasion and lead to a greater degree of economic self-sufficiency.

By maintaining business and social contacts with South Africa there can be an expectation that, through peaceful persuasion and example, the oppressive policies of Apartheid will eventually be repealed and the black majority and coloured will enjoy equal rights with the minority white population. This position would seem to be supported by a Rockefeller Foundation Study on the role of foreign companies in South Africa. This study found that "the presence of foreign companies does bring tangible benefits to a segment of the black population and there is no evidence

that corporate withdrawal or shareholder divestment seeking withdrawal would be beneficial". In 1978 the Canadian Government published a Code of Conduct Concerning the Employment Practices of Canadian Companies Operating in South Africa (copy attached). The Code's provisions and reporting requirements are voluntary and, according to the *Globe and Mail* (January 18, 1985), only one company, Alcan Aluminum Ltd., has made public regular reports on its compliance with the Code.

Canadian banks do not operate in the same manner as Canadian companies operating through wholly-owned or partially-owned subsidiaries. The banks do not have subsidiaries in the Republic but they have in the past made loans to the Government and its agencies.

However, as a matter of information, we have been advised that no such new loans have been made during the last four years by any of the banks in the University's common stock portfolio. The banks are reluctant to divulge the current amount of their loans in South Africa but the Bank of Montreal did report at its annual

meeting on January 16, 1984 that such loans represented less than 1/10 of 1% of its total assets and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the University's bankers, had loans outstanding in all of Africa at September 30, 1984 equivalent to less than 1/5 of 1% of total assets.

The University of Toronto Divestment Committee, while recognizing that the major Canadian banks have a declining involvement with South Africa, nevertheless request that the University sell its holdings of common stocks in all banks except the Toronto Dominion. This exception is made on the basis of a perception that, alone among the major banks, the Toronto Dominion has adopted a policy of not lending to South African entities in the future.

The case against divestment as a form of university protest

As an institution of higher learning dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge through dialogue, argument and independent research, the University has a unique role to play in society. One of its distinguishing and elemental features is that it is a pluralistic community which encourages the expression of diverse opinions. In our opinion, it is impossible, therefore, for the University to present a monolithic viewpoint on the issue of divestment since the opinion of one group, however well-intentioned and sincere, should not be allowed to dominate the opposing views of other groups in the community in setting investment policy.

It is also essential that the University preserve its independence and right to freedom of expression, devoid of outside constraining influences. The University, above all, does not want other



Letters press cases for and against divestment

The three letters reprinted here — by U. of T. Philosophy professor Fred Wilson, U. of T. President George Connell, and Kenneth G. McNeill of the University's Governing Council — serve to illustrate the strong debate which took place at the University of Toronto prior to the September vote of the Governing Council on divestment.

The following letter is reprinted from the July 22, 1985 edition of the University of Toronto Bulletin:

One cannot but react with disappointment at the stand that President Connell has taken on the issue of divestment in firms that invest in South Africa.

There is widespread concern in the university community about the apartheid regime in South Africa. There is, of course, the general moral concern that many have, but the situation in South Africa also addresses itself directly to the professional concerns of faculty and librarians in teaching and research.

The "Extension of University Education Act" of 1958 closed the two open universities of Capetown and Witwatersrand to any but white students, while establishing university colleges for coloured and tribal groups. The latter is perhaps the most pernicious feature of the Act, since it suggests a veneer of equality while in fact the "tribal" colleges are substantially underfunded with often poorly qualified staff, and provide a markedly inferior level of education.

Until 1983 blacks could attend Capetown or Witwatersrand only if a special permit was obtained, which, however, was not automatic, and in any case was available only if the subject to be studied was not offered in the appropriate "tribal" college. Since 1983 the open universi-

sities are permitted again to admit non-whites. However, the "Bantu Education Act" of 1953 ensures for non-whites an inferior level of education in the high schools, so that in areas like physics or chemistry even if a permit is possible it is only through extra and extra-ordinary work and effort that blacks can qualify for such programmes at Capetown or Witwatersrand.

There are many other equally pernicious aspects of the system. White physicians may work with both white and non-white patients, but blacks only with blacks. As a consequence that widest variety of patient experience that the best medical education requires is effectively denied blacks.

The black colleges are directly government funded, and are continually gambling that the government, because of manpower needs, will not financially penalize those institutions that choose to exercise the degree of autonomy essential to academic quality.

Even the autonomous white universities that have the funding channelled through relatively independent university councils suffer from a variety of restrictions on academic freedom that do grave harm to academic quality.

Political informers infiltrate student representative councils and classrooms.

The government denies visas to foreign and South African scholars at will, thus limiting international contacts.

Books are banned and restricted. The main targets are rhetorical tracts of little intrinsic importance, but the long lists include primary sources by such historically important and indispensable writers as Lenin.

Restrictions on academic freedom directly impose on research as well as teaching, especially in the social sciences. One now needs a permit to do research in the "tribal homelands"; this effectively closes, for example, most of Transkei to any researchers. The required permit is much more easily obtained if one teaches at a university that supports the government policy; the difficulty in obtaining a permit increases if one is attempting any applied social research. The impact upon such disciplines as anthropology, sociology and geography can easily be imagined.

While the 1958 closing of Capetown and Witwatersrand to non-whites was in the process of enactment, there were strong protests from those universities and their faculty to this infringement of academic freedom, and the right of a university and its faculty to make academic decisions on academic grounds. In a book at Capetown published at the time, *The Open Universities in South Africa*, of which the first chapter was

"The Idea of a University", the proposition was eloquently re-stated that it violated basic norms defining what a university ought to be to have non-academic criteria used as a basis for decisions on admissions.

Now have the open universities remained mute while academic freedom and academic quality have continued to be whittled away. They have protested loudly and vigorously in protest marches, picket protests, public meetings and deputations to the government.

As professionals, the faculty and librarians at the University of Toronto are at one with their colleagues in South Africa in deplored the infringements that they must bear in academic freedom in teaching and research.

President Connell, in his statement to Governing Council, argued that the University should not involve itself in politics save in "matters which are directly relevant to its interests". But if a professional concern with academic freedom is not directly relevant, what is? Will the defense of academic freedom at the University of British Columbia be "directly relevant"? Will the defense of academic freedom at the University of Toronto be "directly relevant"? Where will the line be drawn? With the sort of leadership that the President has given the University on this issue one fears that the line will indeed be drawn only too close to ourselves — perhaps even at the periphery of Simcoe Hall?

No doubt most will recognize the legitimacy of the president's concern that the University not be politicized. At the same time, the support for divestment is widespread in all constituencies on campus. The problem is to find a line of action that meets all these concerns. The president's solution in fact meets none of them, not even his own. In fact, if divestment is a political act, then, equally, continued investment is a political act.

To be sure, we are told that the guide for investment ought to be the thought of the "prudent man" who does not let "political, social, moral or other non-business factors" influence his judgement. Support for continued erosion of the academic freedom of our South African colleagues is, one supposes, only, alas, the unintended consequence of the investment policies of the prudent man. He does not *ain't* have to have that happen; he aims only to maximize profit; and since that is his only aim, his action is somehow not political or moral, while the act of divestment in the interests of affecting the situation is political or moral. It is a *shoddy argument*. The automobile driver is not exonerated from moral responsibility simply because the death of a



Black students on funeral march in Soweto as soldiers line road.

pedestrian was the unintended consequence of the former's going through a red light in order to maximize the speed with which he could reach his next appointment. If divestment is political, so is investment.

A solution that satisfies few save the select advisory group that recommended it, and even then only on the basis of shoddy argument, is simply not the sort of solution which the University is looking for. Rather than finding a solution that brings the University community together, the President has succeeded in making the whole issue more divisive than ever. This is simply not the sort of leadership that this institution deserves.

It is the sort of issue on which the president should consult not five people but widely. The aim should be to find a solution that draws the University community together rather than divides it. It is indeed disappointing that once again we seem to have leadership that is incapable of leading.

Fred Wilson
Chairman
University and External
Relations Committee
University of Toronto Faculty
Association

The following letter is reprinted from the August 19, 1985 edition of the University of Toronto Bulletin:

In his letter published in the *Bulletin* of July 22, Professor Fred Wilson has given a comprehensive account of one aspect of the tragic situation in South Africa — the severe constraints upon academic freedom for faculty and students. Although this aspect of apartheid has been overshadowed by the widespread killings and imprisonments in recent weeks, it remains a grave concern for all those who recognize the importance of free access to higher education and freedom of scholarly inquiry, among whom I count myself.

I believe it is right and proper for this university to express strongly its convictions about academic freedom and to take actions which are likely to advance that cause. If it were evident that a corporation in which the University held shares was contributing directly or indirectly to the repression of academic

freedom (or, indeed, to other forms of persecution) in South Africa or elsewhere, I would have no hesitation in recommending appropriate action to the Governing Council. One possible course of action might be divestment.

Professor Wilson has stated his own conclusion that the presence of Canadian corporations in South Africa promotes or sustains suppression of academic freedom. Evidence that leads to that conclusion, if well-founded, would be profoundly influential with me and, I expect, with the Governing Council. There is, however, testimony on both sides of this question. The view that the presence of international corporations is one of the significant forces for relief of oppression has been put forward by a number of well-informed observers. *The Economist*, for example, concluded a major review of the South African situation with the following words:

"But the best engagement in South Africa is unofficial and personal, reflected in contact, in commerce, in intellectual and cultural exchange. It is the engagement of constant argument. It is the opposite of boycott and ostracism and public dissociation. These weapons work no better in international affairs than they do in personal relations. They represent failure. They are the enemy, not the friend, of freedom in South Africa." (*The Economist* March 30, 1985).

Professor Wilson has misrepresented the advice I offered to the Governing Council on June 20 in one important respect. I explicitly rejected the "prudent man" doctrine as the dominant influence on University investment policy, and argued that the University must assess the moral consequences of its commercial transactions. Professor Wilson has not recognized the distinction, which I believe to be extremely important, between exercise of moral judgment and political engagement.

The prospect of politicization of the University is a matter about which I would expect many colleagues to share my concern. I do not believe that the University as an institution should be committed to a particular political cause, no matter how worthy, no matter how overwhelming the majority of those supporting that cause.

There are two reasons for

my convictions. The first is that universities are dedicated to the principle of free inquiry — that all members of the community have the right to seek the truth by rational methods of investigation and scholarship. There is no "official" university position on anything except for the traditions upon which universities are founded and the policies which enable them to operate. This helps to ensure that we remain committed to enlightenment rather than indoctrination.

The second reason is that universities claim immunity from outside interference. We expect governments, political parties and organizations to respect our special nature and to grant us freedom from political or economic pressure to conform to their views. It follows, I believe, that the University should not misuse its privileged position by engaging, as a corporation, in political advocacy.

The mission of the University is to teach and to support research and other scholarly activities. The University can and should engage in teaching and research on important social issues such as the South African situation has exposed. If we are effective in our mission, the University will continue to be a community in which political convictions are strongly held and thoroughly tested and in which individuals and groups gain the

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knowledge and competence to pursue their goals within the University and in the world.

George E. Connell
President
University of Toronto

The following letter, dated September 6, was addressed to President Connell. It is reprinted with permission.

It seems to me that the divestment of our holdings in companies with subsidiaries in South Africa is not the positive step which a University such as ours could take.

It has also the very negative aspect that we are not, as far as I know, considering similar action towards other nations where there is obvious disregard for human dignity — and indeed where there is perhaps even less indication of change for the better. Nor is there undisputed evidence, or even opinion, that such divestment will result in the reduction of apartheid and benefit to the blacks and coloureds. My observations over many years — Abyssinia, Spain, Rhodesia, for instance — is that such kinds of economic sanctions don't have the hoped for results. I would presume that we do not want to change the lot of the South African majority to that of those in Ethiopia.

Led by us, one action that a group of Canadian universities could take would be an in-depth study of the South African situation to recommend what is the best way for us to proceed to improve matters there. The Canadian government would also be very interested in getting such advice — at least on the evidence that they currently have few clear cut ideas! Against the argument that this would take years, while action is needed now, I would argue that universities are places in

which unhurried, calm conclusions should be reached, and that the knee-jerk has no place here; and that, unless deliberately precipitated, the problem isn't going to go away for some years yet.

Another possible action is to realize and proclaim that our job is not activism but education. In the long run divestment will cost us money; in place of divestment let us now dedicate the money that would otherwise be lost, dedicate it to scholarships tied to countries in which humans are having a rough time — again I don't think we should just be led by the newspapers as to location. The figure I have in mind is \$100,000 a year. However, I would want to go further. I think it far too easy, and therefore to that extent less meaningful, for people to condemn others, and to urge help to others, when so doing doesn't affect them personally. I think that, let us say, one third of any agreed figure comes out of existing graduate fellowships, one third from existing academic salaries — by an actual reduction — though only of less than 0.1% — and by commitment by the alumni and government appointees on the Governing Council to raise the extra one third for this purpose. An offering of someone else's money is not as efficacious as a personal sacrifice. To divest ensures that ten years down the line the University has less money and that the next generation of students suffers from our act; to do as I suggest means a personal sacrifice by the actors. To bring underprivileged students here, to educate leaders for their countries, is a positive and beneficial step which we are well qualified to take. Frankly we are not qualified to act as expert moral judges or political prophets.

Kenneth G. McNeill
Member Governing Council Secretariat



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CASE FOR DIVEST-MENT...8

Corporation (ISCOR), the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM), and the South Africa Railways and Harbour Commission (SARH). The most obvious point is that these are not trade-related loans but loans that strengthen white South Africa's infrastructure and its "total strategy" program, designed to successfully withstand any internal or external pressure for fundamental change. The Iron and Steel Corporation is closely linked to South Africa's Arms Development Production Corporation (ARDSCOR) and shares corporate directors with the latter (TCCR). Its advertisements in South Africa's Armed Forces Magazine speak with pride of the use of steel products for the Defense Force.

The Electricity Supply Commission's major program, far from providing electricity for black South Africans, is pre-occupied with the development of massive nuclear power plant installations and uranium enrichment processes (TCCR). These, with the aid of nuclear technology provided by the West have made South Africa, in military terms, an actual, or at the very least, a potential dangerous nuclear power. Negligence by the Canadian and U.S. authorities in scrutinizing the jointly incorporated Space Research Corporation has deepened this concern. The Space Research Corporation, in which ARDS-COR had an indirect interest of 20%, provided South Africa with sophisticated military technology capable of carrying nuclear warheads until it was exposed by the media (TCCR).

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is hard to imagine how anyone can adduce a successful argument for continued foreign participation in South Africa's economy. That anyone would even try is even harder to understand. Of course, we do not want to suggest that those who do business in and with South Africa actively endorse apartheid. But one is right to query their seriousness of purpose and commitment to change in South Africa when, in deliberate blindness to the facts, they keep pouring investment capital into the South African economy. Albeit, even if businesspeople choose to ignore the facts, we consider it unacceptable that the University of Toronto might want to follow suit.

CASE AGAINST...8

tion of the policy of racial discrimination practised by the South African Government.

2. In our opinion, however, the actions of Canadian companies doing business in South Africa are not "socially injurious" within the meaning applied to this term in the Governing Council's Policy on Social and Political Issues with Respect to University Investment.

3. The divestment of the University's holdings in companies and banks doing business in South Africa is, therefore, not an appropriate response by the members of Governing Council to a concern with Apartheid practices.

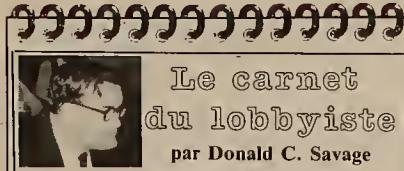
4. We recommend that Governing Council strongly urge the federal government to complete its current review of

its Code of Conduct for Canadian Companies Operating in South Africa and make the reporting requirements of this Code mandatory.

5. As the members of Governing Council are trustees of the funds under the Council's care, we do not believe they can depart from the "prudent man" rule of investing. As generally interpreted, this rule does not include political, social, moral or other non-business factors as proper considerations to influence the exercise of a trustee's judgement and discretion in investment matters.

6. The Vice-President — Business Affairs should be asked to monitor the federal government's policy and actions with respect to South Africa and keep the President informed.





Le carnet du lobbyiste

par Donald C. Savage

Qu'est-il arrivé du comité de recherche?

En novembre, les Conservateurs ont déclaré aux Communes qu'ils institueraient, dans le cadre de la réforme parlementaire, un Comité permanent de la recherche, des sciences et de la technologie. C'est une chose que l'ACPU préconisait depuis longtemps. Le programme de réforme parlementaire n'a pas été adopté avant le congé de Noël. Quelques jours avant Noël, il a commencé à circuler des rumeurs soutenant que le gouvernement était à la veille de changer d'idée. L'ACPU a communiqué avec le cabinet du Premier ministre qui a catégoriquement nié qu'il y avait du changement dans la politique conservatrice sur ce point. Le 6 janvier, l'ACPU a adressé aux ministres concernés et à l'opposition des télexgrammes où elle réaffirmait sa position.

Rapport du Secrétariat d'État

Grâce à un amendement proposé par Flora MacDonald alors qu'elle était dans l'opposition et que le gouvernement libéral a accepté, le Secrétaire d'État est obligé de présenter à la fin de janvier un rapport détaillé sur les transferts fiscaux destinés à l'enseignement postsecondaire. L'affaire devrait être intéressante.

Nouveaux frais pour les étudiants étrangers

Le gouvernement songe à faire payer des frais annuels pour les visas d'étudiant délivrés aux étudiants étrangers. Il semble particulièrement abusif de le faire avant que le comité parlementaire ait même étudié la question. L'ACPU et le BCEI ont protesté.

Etudiants étrangers

L'ACPU a pressé le comité parlementaire qui étudie divers aspects de la politique étrangère du Canada de se pencher sur la question de la politique relative aux étudiants étrangers. L'ACPU a présenté un mémoire qui rétirait les résolutions adoptées par le Conseil de l'ACPU en 1984. Le Conseil s'était opposé à des frais différents, mais avait dit que, s'ils étaient maintenus, ils devaient disparaître pour



les étudiants diplômés et les étudiants des pays les plus pauvres du monde. L'Institut Nord-Sud a publié un utile document sur la question. Le Bureau canadien pour l'éducation internationale a présenté un long mémoire. Le *Canadian Higher Education Research Network* a tenu une conférence d'un jour à Ottawa le 6 janvier sur la question.

Retraite obligatoire

L'ACPU a écrit au ministre de la Justice pour demander que le gouvernement présente une loi interdisant la retraite obligatoire ou renvoie la question devant la Cour suprême. Le renvoi amonctionnerait grandement les frais juridiques à engager pour déterminer quelle est la vraie situation légale touchant la retraite obligatoire. Entre-temps, il a été fixé un jour en avril pour l'audition d'une affaire-type émanant de l'Université York appuyée par l'ACPU, l'UAPUO et l'Association des professeurs de l'Université York. Plusieurs autres universités ontariennes sont parties à l'affaire. Le gouvernement Albertain a promulgué une loi adoptée il y a quelques mois qui interdit la retraite obligatoire dans la fonction publique et dans les universités.

Conférence des premiers ministres

Le Vice-Président (Affaires étrangères) de l'ACPU a assisté à la Conférence des premiers ministres, à Halifax. Il a eu l'occasion de mener des démarches auprès des politiciens fédéraux et provinciaux.

Le Rapport Crocker

Le CCRSH a invité l'ACPU à commenter le Rapport Crocker. L'ACPU a adressé au Conseil des observations faisant valoir la nécessité d'avoir une juste procédure d'évaluation, d'efficaces dispositions d'appel, un juste statut contractuel pour les personnes qui remplacent des professeurs en congé et un mélange de bourses de congé de courte durée et de congé sabbatique. Le président du Conseil a informé l'ACPU qu'un sous-comité est en train de revoir la question.

Recherches en sciences humaines

Le CCRSH a récemment annoncé qu'il amorçait une étude sur les besoins en infrastructure de recherche dans le domaine des sciences humaines. Il va mener une enquête auprès de certaines universités. Renseignements: Eva Kushner, 613-238-6945, ou M. Dandurand, 613-992-5125.

Le Rapport Fraser

L'ACPU a écrit au ministre de la Justice pour lui exprimer ses vues sur la partie du Rapport Fraser qui porte sur la censure.



Répression dans les universités à l'étranger

L'ACPU a récemment appuyé les protestations d'Amnistie internationale à l'égard du traitement des professeurs en Pologne, au Maroc et au Pakistan.

Les forces de sécurité dans les universités

L'ACPU a demandé de rencontrer le soliciteur général Perrin Beatty afin de discuter de certains aspects de la nouvelle loi sur la sécurité. L'ACPU veut aussi savoir si le gouvernement actuel s'estimé lié par l'assurance donnée à l'ACPU par les anciens premiers ministres Lester Pearson et Pierre Trudeau que les forces de sécurité ne soumettraient pas les universités à une surveillance générale.

Citations de choses dites à la Fédération canadienne des étudiants

Chose peu étonnante, Libéraux et Conservateurs s'opposaient aux réductions du FPE, étaient favorables à la présence du gouvernement fédéral dans l'enseignement postsecondaire et appuyaient généralement la cause des universités. Jean Chrétien a dit: "Il faudrait revenir au 50-50 ou laisser les provinces bouillir dans leur jus."

Jim Hawkes a dit que le gouvernement fédéral n'avait pas de rôle à jouer dans l'enseignement postsecondaire et que, "en coupant l'augmentation, on se débouche du bois mort". Jim McGrath a dit que le gouvernement fédéral devrait intervenir activement. Stewart McInnis a dit qu'il s'agissait de fédéralisation coopérative. Moe Mantha a dit que le problème principal du financement de l'enseignement postsecondaire consistait dans le manque de bourses d'études sportives.

Allées et venues

Claude Ryan est le nouveau ministre chargé de l'enseignement supérieur au Québec. Le gouvernement Bourassa fait le nécessaire pour créer un seul ministère; M. Ryan est donc aussi ministre de l'Éducation. Frank Oberle est devenu ministre d'État aux Sciences et à la Technologie... Marcel Masse (Frontenac) est redevenu ministre des Communications. Il est responsable du Conseil des arts du Canada... Geoffroy Scott (Hamilton-Wentworth) est le nouveau secrétaire parlementaire du Secrétaire d'État... Jim Edwards (Edmonton-Sud) est le nouveau secrétaire parlementaire du ministre des Communications... George McLeod est le nouveau ministre de l'Enseignement avancé et de la Main-d'œuvre en Saskatchewan... Terence Donahoe est passé de ministre de l'Éducation en Nouvelle-Écosse à président de la Commission politique et ministre des Ressources humaines, du perfectionnement et de la Formation. Thomas J. McInnis l'a remplacé à l'Éducation.



National Research
Council Canada
Conseil national
de recherches Canada

Colour Scientist

The Photometry and Radiometry Section of the Division of Physics requires a scientist to do research in the field of colour science.

The successful candidate will join a group of about eight physicists working mainly to realize, maintain and develop colorimetric, photometric and radiometric standards. Among the interests of the group is basic research in the psychophysics of the human visual system, which is applied to the development of photometric and colorimetric standards. Current work includes increment threshold experiments intended to identify opponent colour channels, studies of the factors affecting colour discrimination, and research in colour-monitor calibration. The successful candidate will be expected to contribute to the goal of the group by initiating and performing basic research in colour science either by using the NRC trichromator or a computer-controlled graphics system and/or by designing and using new apparatus. He/she will be expected to interact not only with the psychophysical researchers already in the group, but also with those members of the group that specialize in physical light measurement. In addition, the successful candidate will be expected to help in transferring to industry the knowledge gained from his/her research.

Colour vision research is an interdisciplinary field that involves collaborative work of physicists, psychologists, physiologists, computer scientists and others. Applicants must have a Ph.D. in one of these fields, preferably in Physics or a related field. He/she should also have a record of research in colour science and a familiarity with optical instrumentation and computers.

Salary: commensurate with qualifications.

Apply in writing to the Manager, Employment Office, National Research Council of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0R6. In reply please quote P-85-2 (R) CB.

Canada

Scientifique des couleurs

La Section de photométrie et de radiométrie de la Division de physique est en quête d'une(s) scientifique pour faire de la recherche dans le domaine de la science des couleurs.

La personne retenue se joindra à un groupe d'environ huit physiciens travaillant principalement à élaborer, à tenir à jour et à parfaire des normes en colorimétrie, en photométrie et en radiométrie. Parmi les intérêts du groupe, mentionnons la recherche fondamentale en psychophysiologie du système visuel chez l'homme appliquée à l'élaboration de normes en photométrie et en colorimétrie. Les travaux en cours englobent des expériences sur les limites des incréments dans le but d'identifier des voies couleur opposées, des études des facteurs qui influencent la discrimination des couleurs et des recherches sur l'établissement des récepteurs de contrôle de la couleur. Elle sera tenue de contribuer à l'atteinte de l'objectif du groupe en amorçant et en effectuant des recherches fondamentales en science des couleurs, à l'aide du "trichromator" du CNRC ou d'un système graphique commandé par ordinateur ou encore d'un nouvel appareil dont elle aura la responsabilité de la conception et de l'utilisation. On s'attend à ce qu'elle collabore non seulement avec les chercheurs en psychophysiologie, mais également avec les membres du groupe qui se spécialisent dans le domaine de la mesure physique de la lumière. Le (la) candidat(e) retenue(s) devra être en mesure d'aider au transfert à l'industrie des connaissances acquises par suite de ses recherches.

La recherche sur la vision des couleurs est un domaine interdisciplinaire qui nécessite la participation de physiciens, de psychologues, de physiologues, d'informaticiens et d'autres spécialistes. Les candidat(e)s doivent détenir un doctorat dans l'un de ces domaines, de préférence en physique ou dans un domaine connexe. Ils (elles) devraient également posséder une expérience en recherche dans le domaine de la science des couleurs et être familiarisé(e)s avec les instruments d'optique et les ordinateurs.

Le traitement sera fonction de la formation et de l'expérience.

Prière d'adresser sa candidature au Gestionnaire, Bureau d'emploi, Conseil national de recherches du Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0R6. Veuillez donner la référence P-85-2 (R) CB.

TRANSFERS...I

Macdonald Royal Commission that the funding situation between Ottawa and the provinces was so intractable that the money should be redirected to the universities through the students by means of vouchers rather than through the provinces. Dr. Douglas Wright, President of the University of Waterloo, in his report to the federal government earlier in the year, urged that some EPF funds be

redirected in order to pay for the indirect costs of research sponsored by the federal granting councils.

The Research Strategy

The funding of the granting councils has been held up yet again, despite a massive lobby by within and without the university community. This is partly because of hostility in some Conservative quarters to SSHRCC, partly because of the view in other circles in the

party that research is a waste of time because it can all be bought in the United States or Japan, and partly because it always takes twice as long as anyone would think possible to get something done in Ottawa. This delay is bound to be a major discouragement to researchers in the universities.

However, it appears that the Prime Minister and the majority of the party still think that research and development are important. They now seem inclined to want to announce the budgets of the granting councils around the time of the federal budget which is expected in February. Perhaps this is regarded by them as good news to offset the other bad news in the budget. All three granting council budgets will be announced at the same time, along with some statement of government policy. It seems likely that there will also be some additions to the package. The government may move in the direction of funding the indirect costs of research or take other direct initiatives. These will not involve large sums of money and will certainly not offset the loss of the money on the EPF account.

However, from the point of view of the government, it is a very attractive package. It can say to the provinces that they are, after all, getting an increase in EPF funds even if there is a cap while, it will argue, most everyone else is being cut. It can say to its constituency that it has cut the deficit by a significant amount (\$6 billion over five years) while at the same time announce two new five-year plans for research and increase the funding for this area. Since the business community has been calling for both deficit reduction and increased support for research, they are

likely to be pleased.

In fact, before Christmas, the national Chamber of Commerce managed to issue a stirring plea for more money for the universities while applauding the decision to cut EPF funds for postsecondary education. The government also thinks that the university community is more entranced by the \$500 million Ottawa spends on the research councils than the \$2.2 billion in cash (plus an equivalent amount in tax points) which it spends on transfers to the provinces for postsecondary education.

The events between May and Christmas have demonstrated the total bankruptcy of the strategy of the provinces. They were advised by CAUT in 1984 through the proposed CAUT national Post-Secondary Education Financing Act that the current arrangements were unsound and should be replaced by incentive payments from Ottawa.

In February 1985, Dr. A.W. Johnson stated in his report to the Secretary of State that any federal government was bound to cut untargeted funds such as EPF unless there was a reform of the system.

He wished to link the federal escalator to the provincial one. The Western premiers replied in a press release that all EPF funds were untied and must remain so. In this they reflected the views of many but not all of the other provinces.

The Council of Ministers of Education told CAUT and its 10 provincial affiliates in July 1985 that it would issue a comprehensive statement in September. When it did so, it stated that the Council hoped that there would be good relations between Ottawa and the provinces and that Ottawa would increase the EPF funds. Clearly, the ministers responsible for higher education had been told by their finance ministers to remove themselves from the battlefield.

It was argued by the provinces that Mr. Mulroney had the backbone of a "marshmallow" and with a little bit of shouting, the federal government would back down. In fact to date the provinces have backed down, thus demonstrating that it only takes three meetings for Ottawa to impose a \$6 billion curtailment. It is now the collective job of the university community to convince the provinces that it is worth proposing a reform package in order to regain at least some of the \$6 billion.

The provinces are inclined to say that unless the university and medical communities raise an effective fuss, there is nothing they can do. The university community clearly cannot get the same media mileage as the provincial premiers and ministers responsible for finance and for postsecondary education. Such advice is, therefore, a cop-out. Nevertheless, CAUT is discussing with the Canadian Medical Association ways and means of continuing

Federal/provincial funding: where did the Conservative Party stand in 1984?

In its August 1984 election edition, the *Bulletin* asked the three major federal political parties to respond to a series of questions on key educational topics. Following are the Conservative Party's responses to questions on federal/provincial funding.

Question:

What role does your party envision for the federal government in the area of post-secondary education? Is it your party's policy to sustain the current federal commitment in financial terms to post-secondary education? Do you intend to work with the provinces to increase funding from both levels of government?

Progressive Conservative Response:

The Progressive Conservative Party sees a dual role for the federal government in post-secondary education: to see that there is on-going funding for basic operating costs for the post-secondary system through Established Programs Financing; and to promote particular priorities in post-secondary education through research grants, training programs, funding of federal institutions, and consultation with provincial Ministers of Education, as provided for in the original 1977 Established Programs Financing Agreement. These consultations should include representatives of faculty and student associations.

We are committed to sustaining the current federal financial commitment, according to the formula set out in the 1977 Agreement. It will not be possible to compensate for losses incurred as a result of the retroactive imposition of 6 & 5 per cent guidelines (Bill C-12).

We believe that financing of post-secondary education is an important priority for both levels of government. In current economic circumstances it is difficult to justify significant increases in any expenditure program. We believe that close consultation with all those affected should raise public consciousness of the need for appropriate funding for post-secondary education, and provide the political will to encourage governments to spend more in this area.

Question:

Does your party support the continuation of the Established Programs Financing Act in its present form insofar as it deals with post-secondary education? If not, what do you think should replace EPF transfers to the provinces for post-secondary education?

Progressive Conservative Response:

Yes, we support fully the original 1977 funding formula and the legislation providing for that. The only caveat is that losses under 6 & 5 restraint cannot be compensated. We do, however, accept the de facto division of post-secondary education from health provided for in Bill C-12.

means of mounting a campaign to reach the provincial governments on this issue.

The Policy and Political Action Committee of the CAUT is preparing an option paper for the February CAUT Board which, while holding firm on the need to restore the EPF funds, will analyze ways and means by which the federal government can expand more money on the universities in other ways consistent with the constitution. This would amount to trying to recapture some of the EPF funds by alternative routes. Various suggestions have been made on this front from time to time involving increased research funds, increased federal student aid, the funding of certain foreign students, and increased assistance to information networks including library research collections.

The CAUT Board will also be considering other ways that the federal government can reduce the deficit, including tax reform. Members with advice or suggestions should write to the President at CAUT, 75 Albert St., Suite 1001, Ottawa K1P 5E7.

**UNIVERSITY
OF
SASKATCHEWAN**
**Centre for the
Study of
Co-Operatives**

Invites applications for an academic position in one of the following disciplines: Education, History, Philosophy, Political Science and Psychology.

The Objectives of the Centre are:

1. To establish a program of studies at the undergraduate and graduate level with a specific focus on co-operatives and credit unions.
2. To undertake off-campus programs directed at the co-operative sector.
3. To undertake research of particular interest and relevance to co-operatives and to make available the results of such research by publication.
4. To undertake research concerning legislation governing co-operatives and credit unions.

The successful candidate will be expected to 1) conduct one full-time course at the graduate or undergraduate level, in his or her discipline, specifically related to co-operatives and credit unions; 2) participate in programmes organized by the Co-operative College of Canada, and, 3) devote the remainder of his or her time to research related to the objectives of the Centre.

At present the academic staff of the Centre are from the College of Law, and the Departments of Management and Marketing, Agricultural Economics, and Sociology, leaving one vacancy to fill.

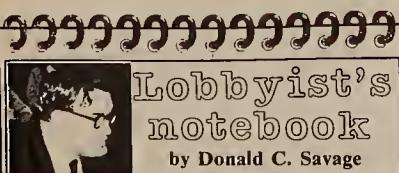
The Centre is engaged in a wide variety of research activities. Worker co-operatives, co-operative health care clinics, housing co-operatives, fishing co-operatives, capital formation in co-operatives, the role of directors of co-operatives, co-operative legal history, a review of co-operative and credit union legislation, employment relations in co-operatives and the position of employees in commercial enterprises are all topics presently under study. The Centre is also conducting research on the following subjects: questions of member participation and commitment, co-operative philosophy and principles, co-operative education, co-operative retailing strategy, management and marketing in co-operative organisations, the potential for joint trade union/co-operative development strategies, the relationship between the co-operative sector and government and the contribution of the co-operative model to community-based economic growth.

The appointment will be tenurable in accordance with University regulations. The salary will be competitive. The appointment will be made effective July 1, 1986 or sooner if a suitable application is received.

Applications together with curriculum vitae and the names of three referees who may be approached confidentially, should be sent to Professor Christopher Axworthy, Director, Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0W0 by February 28th.

In accordance with Canadian immigration regulations, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents.

Le Secrétaire général de l'ACPU, M. Donald Savage dit que le gouvernement fédéral ne démonte pas de son intention de livrer les transferts fédéraux aux provinces et d'économiser ainsi six milliards d'ici à 1991. Les Conservateurs, à son avis, sont en train d'adopter la même politique que le gouvernement libéral précédent sur la question. Ils croient que les provinces ont réduit leurs engagements envers les universités et le système sanitaire, tandis que le gouvernement fédéral a maintenu sa part et que l'état des choses actuel aggrave la situation. M. Savage dit aussi que le premier ministre et la majorité des gens de son parti semblent considérer la recherche et le développement comme importants et incluent à annoncer les budgets des conseils subventionnaires un temps du budget fédéral, attendu en février, peut-être comme une nouvelle destinée à contrebalancer d'autres mauvaises nouvelles.



Lobbyist's notebook

by Donald C. Savage

What happened to the research committee?

In November the Conservatives stated in the House of Commons that, as part of the parliamentary reform package, they would bring in a Standing Committee on Research, Science and Technology. This had long been advocated by CAUT. The parliamentary reform package was not adopted before the Christmas recess. A few days before Christmas, rumours began to circulate that the government was about to renege on this commitment. CAUT spoke to the Prime Minister's office which categorically denied that there was any change in Conservative policy on this matter. On January 6 CAUT sent telegrams to the ministers concerned and to the opposition reiterating its position.

Report of the Secretary of State

Thanks to an amendment moved by Flora MacDonald when she was in opposition and which was accepted by the Liberal government, the Secretary of State is obliged to make a detailed report on the operations of the fiscal transfers for postsecondary education by the end of January. This should be an interesting exercise.

Foreign Students

CAUT has urged the parliamentary committee which is studying various aspects of Canada's foreign policy to review the question of foreign student policy. CAUT submitted a brief to the Committee which reiterated the resolutions of the 1984 CAUT Council. The Council had expressed hostility to differential fees but suggested that, if they were to be kept, fees should be removed for graduate students and for those from the poorest countries of the world. The North/South Institute issued a useful background paper on this issue. The Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) submitted an extensive brief. The Canadian Higher Education Research Network held a one day conference to deal with the issue in Ottawa on January 6.

New charges for foreign students

The government is considering charging an annual fee for student visas for foreign students. It seems particularly unreasonable to do this before the parliamentary committee has even studied the matter. Both CAUT and CBIE have protested.

Mandatory Retirement

CAUT has written to the Minister of Justice asking either that the government introduce legislation banning mandatory retirement or refer the issue to the Supreme Court. Such a reference would greatly lessen the legal costs of ascertaining what the true legal situation is in regard to mandatory retirement. Meanwhile a date has been set in April to hear the test case from York University which is supported by CAUT, OCUFA and the York University Faculty Association. Several other Ontario universities have joined the case. The Government of Alberta has proclaimed legislation passed some months earlier which bans mandatory retirement in the public service and in the universities.

The First Ministers' Conference

The Vice-President (external) of CAUT attended the First Ministers' Conference in Halifax. This provided a useful opportunity to lobby both federal and provincial politicians.

IN/PRINTS

Books received by The Bulletin. Unless otherwise noted, information was supplied by the publisher. Some books may be reviewed later.

WOMEN, CLASS, FAMILY AND THE STATE, Varda Burstyn and Dorothy E. Smith, Garamond Press, Toronto, 1985 (paperback). Two articles analyse, from a feminist Marxist viewpoint, the connection between capitalism and patriarchy. Burstyn is a teacher and author. Smith teaches at the University of Toronto.

IN DEFENCE OF OPEN-MINDEDNESS, William Hare,

McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1985. In this study to "open-mindedness and Education", the author argues that the notion of open-mindedness is fundamental to the philosophy of education, despite those philosophers and educational theorists who believe this attitude can be objectionable in specific contexts (i.e., reflections on our moral principles in practical situations). "...this has led to important theories and excellent books being condemned." The author teaches at Oulhouse.

JUMP CUT: Hollywood, Politics and Counter-Culture, edited by Peter Steven. Between The Lines, Toronto, 1985. Essays of radical film criticism, ranging from Shirley Temple to Nicaragua. "The articles can best be described as broadly socialist and feminist

in orientation." Hollywood Musicals, Working Class Film Heroes, Radical Cinema in the 1930s are some of the topics in this collection of reprints from the film tabloid "Jump Cut".

DEVELOPING CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN PHYSICAL THERAPY, OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY AND SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGY/AUDIOLOGY, Duncan D. Campbell and Emilia Pasemko, Faculty of Extension, University of Alberta, 1985. A study based on questionnaires sent to health science professionals in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, on the need for comprehensive programs enabling professionals to keep up with developments in their own and allied fields. "There seems little question that, without

periodic refreshment in a vocation, one would within a few short years become hopelessly inadequate." The volume provides a brief account of the origins, scope, organizational nature and current directions of the three professions. Duncan Campbell teaches at the Univ. of Alberta. Emilia Pasemko is an Administrative Assistant at the same university.

CULTURE, CRITIQUE: FERNAND DUMONT AND NEW QUEBEC SOCIOLOGY, Michael A. Weinstein, New World Perspectives, 1985. Quebec, this book suggests, has transformed the tradition of contemporary sociology "by forcing the critical tendencies in French and American sociology into a new synthesis", exemplified by the humane nationalism of the philosopher Dumont.



The Crocker Report

CAUT was invited by SSHRCC to comment on the Crocker Report. Comments were sent to SSHRCC stressing the need to have fair assessment procedures, effective appeal arrangements, proper contractual status for those replacing faculty on leave, and a mixture of short term leaves and sabbatical leave fellowships. The President of the Council informed CAUT that a sub-committee was reconsidering the assessment question.

Humanities and Social Science Research

SSHRCC recently announced that it was undertaking a study of research infrastructure needs in the social sciences and the humanities. It will be conducting a survey of selected universities. Information from Eva Kushner at 613-238-6945 or Dr. Dandurand 613-992-5125.

The Fraser Report

CAUT has written the Minister of Justice to express its views on that part of the Fraser Report dealing with censorship.

Repression in universities abroad

CAUT has recently supported Amnesty International's protests in regard to the treatment of academics in Poland, Morocco, and Pakistan.

The Security Forces on the Campus

CAUT has requested meetings with the Solicitor General, Perrin Beatty, to discuss certain aspects of the new security legislation. CAUT also wishes to know whether the present government feels bound by the assurances of former prime ministers Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau to the CAUT that there would be no general surveillance of university campuses or fishing expeditions by the security forces.

Quotes from a recent lobby by the Canadian Federation of Students

Not surprisingly, the Liberals and Conservatives opposed the cuts in EPF, favoured a federal government role in postsecondary education and were generally supportive of the universities' cause. One interesting quote from Jean Chretien: "We should go back to a system of 50-50 or let the provinces boil in their own juice." The Conservatives were all over the map. Jim Hawkes stated that there was no federal role in postsecondary education and that "by cutting the increase, you get rid of the deadwood." Jim McGrath said that the federal government should be actively involved. Stewart McInnes said that it was a matter of co-operative federalism. Moe Mantha said that the main problem in PSE funding was the lack of sports scholarships.

Comings and goings

Claude Ryan is the new minister responsible for higher education in Quebec. The Bourassa government is taking steps to create a single ministry, and Mr. Ryan is, therefore, also Minister of Education...Frank Oberle M.P. (Prince George-Peace River) has become Minister of State for Science and Technology...Marcel Massé M.P. (Frontenac) has returned as Minister of Communications. He is responsible for the Canada Council...Geoffrey Scott M.P. (Hamilton-Wentworth) is the new Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State...John Edward F. F. (Saskatchewan South) is the new Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications...George McLeod is the new Minister of Advanced Education and Manpower in Saskatchewan...Terence Donahoe has moved from being Minister of Education in Nova Scotia to become Chairman of the Policy Board and Minister of Human Resources, Development and Training. His replacement in the Education post is Thomas J. McInnis.

in orientation" - Hollywood Musicals, Working Class Film Heroes, Radical Cinema in the 1930s are some of the topics in this collection of reprints from the film tabloid "Jump Cut".

DEVELOPING CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN PHYSICAL THERAPY, OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY AND SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGY/AUDIOLOGY, Duncan D. Campbell and Emilia Pasemko, Faculty of Extension, University of Alberta, 1985. A study based on questionnaires sent to health science professionals in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, on the need for comprehensive programs enabling professionals to keep up with developments in their own and allied fields. "There seems little question that, without



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The University of Victoria has approximately 500 faculty members, 9,100 undergraduate students and 800 graduate students. In addition to the Faculty of Education the University has Faculties of Arts and Science, Engineering, Fine Arts, Human and Social Development, Law and Graduate Studies.

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A vacancy exists in a progressive Nuclear Medicine Department in a busy cancer institute. Academic affiliation with the University of Alberta exists in relation to both resident and technology educational programs and with the Faculty of Pharmacy Bionucleonics (Radiopharmacy) Division on campus. The successful candidate will be expected to provide academic leadership and to develop multi-disciplinary research programs. Collaboration in investigations involving a high-field large aperture research NMR machine is also encouraged.

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A reminder to our readers

INCOME TAX GUIDE

Look for the Bulletin's annual income tax guide for academics in our February edition.

AFRIQUE...

tustans) est parfois exigé. Un visa leur permettant de visiter les universités ouvertes est parfois refusé aux savants étrangers et un passeport leur permettant de visiter des universités étrangères a été refusé à certains professeurs sud-africains.

Des livres de diverses natures sont interdits et frappés de restrictions et il faut obtenir une permission spéciale pour les consulter. L'interdiction de certains erudits se répercute, bien entendu, sur l'édition puisqu'une des suites de l'interdiction, en vertu de laquelle il n'est pas permis de se déplacer librement et de fréquenter des amis et des confrères, consiste en ce qu'une publication ne peut citer un interdit. C'est ainsi que la législation répressive générale de l'Afrique du Sud y a des effets directs et indirects sur la pensée libre et sur la liberté universitaire.

Il y a peut-être eu une certaine libéralisation de la censure ces dernières années, mais combien il serait étrange au Canada de constater que les œuvres de Lépine sont interdites. La Police de sécurité, qui se tient informée aussi des positions idéologiques des professeurs, s'occupe de la question des "publications indésirables". Au cours des années 60, alors qu'il y avait des postes de professeurs vacants au Canada, aux Etats-Unis, en Grande-Bretagne et en Australie, beaucoup d'universités sud-africaines ont quitté le pays pour cause ou par crainte de harcèlement par la Police de sécurité.

Les restrictions apportées à la liberté universitaire ont donc généralement ou indirectement la recherche et l'enseignement, surtout dans le cas des sciences sociales. Beaucoup de régions noires sont fermées à la recherche anthropologique et sociologique. Lorsque permission est accordée d'effectuer des travaux

sur le terrain, les chercheurs sont attentivement surveillés par des employés du gouvernement et par la Police de sécurité. Un anthropologue social de l'étranger a obtenu l'autorisation de faire des recherches afin d'étudier les relations raciales contemporaines à condition de ne pas parler aux noirs!

Même si le gouvernement s'emploie à restreindre la liberté universitaire à faire obstacle à la libération de l'esprit dans toutes les universités et collèges sud-africains, on ne peut qu'être frappé par la détermination de tant de professeurs et d'étudiants de maintenir "les quatre libertés essentielles" d'une université: déterminer elle-même qui doit enseigner, ce qui peut s'enseigner, comment cela doit s'enseigner et qui peut être admis aux études. Au fil des années, cependant, des erudits sont allés bien au-delà de ces quatre libertés et il leur en a souvent coûté cher. Certains ont perdu leur emploi à cause

de leurs vues et ont été bannis de l'enseignement (tandis que d'autres ont été arrêtés et détenus). Beaucoup ont étendu la notion de liberté universitaire bien plus loin. En 1974, par exemple, les Comités de la liberté universitaire des universités de Cape Town et du Witwatersrand ont étendu leur définition de la liberté universitaire de 1957 à "la défense de la liberté sociale et personnelle d'au-delà de l'extérieur" aussi bien qu'à l'intérieur des universités.

Il ne faudrait pas oublier,

en outre, les protestations des étudiants noirs des collèges "tribaux" contre le contrôle étatique et leur demande d'installations et de normes éducatives égales à celles des universités blanches. Ainsi donc, si la liberté universitaire est restreinte dans les universités blanches, c'est pire encore pour les étudiants et les quelques professeurs libéraux des universités noires. Tout le corps étudiant de l'Université de Transkei a été expulsé en 1984 pour son refus de cesser le boycottage d'un cours.

Ce ne sont pas toutes les universités et tous les professeurs sud-africains qui s'opposent à la politique de la classe régnante. Au contraire, certains l'appliquent activement et plusieurs des architectes de l'apartheid à partir des années 40 étaient des professeurs. Ainsi, feu H.H. Verwoerd, ancien premier ministre de l'Afrique du Sud, a acquis plusieurs de ses idées sur la domination raciale alors qu'il était professeur de sociologie à l'Université de Stellenbosch.

D'autre part, plusieurs de nos confrères des universités ouvertes seraient fort désolés d'être rattachés au groupe d'universités favorables au gouvernement dont ils condamnent tellement les actes et l'idéologie. Les universitaires des universités ouvertes s'opposent à l'imposition de l'apartheid dans leurs universités au nom des normes professionnelles de liberté universitaire qu'ils partagent avec les universitaires et les bibliothécaires canadiens, normes que l'ACPU a été fondée pour défendre et qu'elle a toujours défendues depuis.

*J.A. Corry, "A Canadian View", *The University and the Modern State*, Toronto, Copp Clark, 1964, p.29.

ENTENTE...1

l'Université par un comité de la nécessité financière et par le sénat de l'Université. Il ne peut être mis fin à des nominations qu'après que l'état de nécessité financière a été ainsi déclaré. Durant un état de nécessité financière, les contrats des professeurs à terme ne peuvent se renouveler que dans certaines circonstances limitées et il n'y a pas de nouvelles nominations.

Après déclaration de la nécessité financière, le président, sur l'avis du comité budgétaire du sénat, décide de l'étendue de la réduction budgétaire à supporter par chaque faculté. Le choix des professeurs dont la nomination doit prendre fin se fait selon un processus de consultation et d'avis au sein des facultés et des unités d'enseignement. La décision de mettre fin à une nomination permanente ou probatoire se fonde sur le jugement portant que le rendement professionnel de l'intéressé est passablement moins que

satisfaisant par rapport aux années au cours desquelles il a occupé son rang. S'il faut d'autres renvois au cours de la même période de nécessité, ils ont lieu par ordre d'ancienneté inverse.

Durant une période de nécessité financière, il peut être mis fin à des nominations pour cause d'"excéder" à condition que le sénat ait proposé au conseil d'administration de disconter une unité d'enseignement ou un enseignement préparant à un grade ou à un diplôme.

La nouvelle politique prévoit une procédure d'appel d'ordre final et obligatoire qui manquait complètement antérieurement. La procédure peut être amorcée par les professeurs qui contestent leur choix comme professeurs à renvoyer. Les critères présidant au rappel des professeurs à la fin d'une période de nécessité financière sont spécifiés.

Le président est convenu de proposer au conseil de retirer la précédente et malheureuse politique des excéderances de l'Association des professeurs.

ratifie la nouvelle entente sur la nécessité financière.

À la naissance du conflit l'été dernier, l'Association des professeurs a demandé au Comité de la liberté universitaire et de la permanence de l'emploi de l'ACPU de faire enquête sur la situation à l'UCCB. Le Comité a autorisé les Prs A. E. Malloch, de l'Université McGill, et Ken Norman, de l'Université de la Saskatchewan, à mener cette enquête. Les enquêteurs se sont rendus deux fois à l'UCCB dans l'intention de rendre compte à la réunion de janvier du Comité. Un rapport négatif aurait pu amener la censure. L'Association de l'UCCB est convenue d'intervenir auprès de l'ACPU pour suggérer que le rapport de son comité d'enquête ne soit pas rendu public. Le président de l'Association des professeurs, le Pr Sydney Mindess, a dit que le nouveau président de l'Université a fait un grand pas afin d'améliorer le moral des professeurs.

L'Association des professeurs de l'UCCB a été vigoureusement appuyée, dans son opposition à la politique unilatéralement imposée, par des associations et syndicats de professeurs de tout le pays. Quand le président Strangway est entré en fonctions au début de novembre 1985, la bienvenue lui a été souhaitée par des télogrammes de professeurs de tout le pays qui l'ont félicité de sa nomination et l'ont pressé de régler le conflit.

Des associations de professeurs de l'étranger avaient antérieurement protesté contre les gestes du conseil d'administration de l'UCCB. Cela a été rendu possible parce que l'ACPU, il y a quelques années, a suggéré avec succès aux fédérations de professeurs des Etats-Unis, de Grande-Bretagne, d'Australie, de Nouvelle-Zélande, d'Irlande et de France qu'il y ait une association internationale informelle de protection mutuelle. Les Australiens, en particulier, sont intervenus de façon très efficace dans le conflit. Ils avaient une bonne raison de le faire parce que le président suppléant de l'UCCB avait été nommé vice-chancelier de l'Université de l'Australie occidentale. Les journaux de Vancouver ont beaucoup parlé du conflit.

Vice-recteur aux services

L'université Concordia est à la recherche d'un vice-recteur aux services. Celui-ci entrera en fonction le 1er juin 1986, ou dès que possible après cette date. La nomination se fera pour un mandat de cinq ans et sera renouvelable.

L'université Concordia compte plus de 2,000 professeurs et employés de soutien à plein temps, ainsi que plus de 1,000 personnes à temps partiel et plusieurs occasionnels. Quelques 22,000 étudiants de premier cycle et 3,000 étudiants des 2e et 3e cycles sont inscrits à l'université, dans des programmes offerts le jour et le soir. Il y a une grande diversité d'âge et de de profils linguistiques et culturels au sein de la communauté universitaire.

Le personnel cadre suivant relève du vice-recteur aux services: le directeur du service audio-visuel; le directeur du centre d'informatique; le vice-recteur adjoint et directeur des bibliothèques; le directeur des services auxiliaires; le directeur du service des sports; le directeur du service d'orientation; le directeur du service des admissions; le directeur du bureau de liaison; le vice-recteur adjoint aux ressources matérielles; le directeur de la vie étudiante; vice-recteur adjoint et régistrarie; le vice-recteur adjoint aux approvisionnements et services; le responsable des projets; le coordonnateur de santé et sécurité au travail; le responsable du centre d'information et des conférences; et le responsable du service de traduction.

Le titulaire a la responsabilité d'assurer la diffusion de services efficaces, acceptables et économiques aux professeurs, au personnel de soutien et aux étudiants. Une solide expérience de l'administration est indispensable. Une expérience pertinente dans un milieu académique serait souhaitable. Le candidat doit pouvoir travailler en anglais et en français, notamment en participant activement à des réunions avec le gouvernement et les autres universités.

Conformément aux exigences de l'immigration canadienne, ce poste est offert aux citoyens canadiens et aux résidents permanents. La confidentialité des candidatures et des mises en candidature est assurée.

Les intéressés sont priés d'adresser leurs candidatures ou mises en candidature, accompagnées d'un dossier biographique, au plus tard le 31 janvier 1986 à:

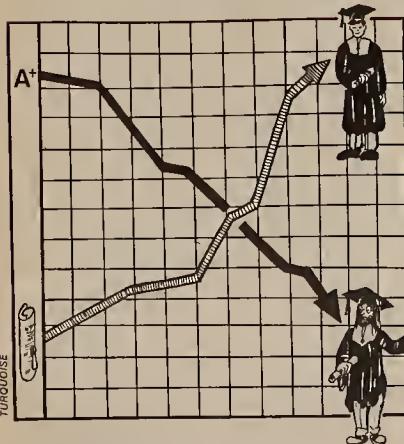
Dr. Patrick Kenniff
Rector and vice-chancellor
Université Concordia
1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest
Montréal, Québec H3G 1M8
ou à
J.M.B. Beaupré, Price Waterhouse & Assoc.; en
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UNIVERSITÉ
CONCORDIA

What would you like to be when you grow up?



Department chairmen: administrators or managers?



research appear to have been added as a mere afterthought I will not comment further. I am quoting from the circular because I detect in it a view very different from mine of the role of university chairmen and, by implication, of deans and presidents. I have always looked on them as administrators but others seem to see them as managers.

I shall need to explain my views of these terms but, for the moment, suffice it to say I think the objective of administrators is to lead their staff and students in the pursuit of academic excellence. The objective of managers is to increase sales and profitability which, in terms of a university, would mean more graduates and research together with bigger budgets. Unlike administrators, who are guided by their staff, managers are guided by consumer demand represented by students and society.

Self-promotion

A successful industry or business has a management hierarchy motivated by sales and profitability. These can be measured at any level from the production floor through to the most senior management, and provide an accurate thermometer of success. But most managers are not satisfied by the mere demonstration of increased profits. To achieve recognition and promotion they need to prove the results

are due to their own clever management. With this in mind, yearly reports always contain extensive references to innovations and changes: new units have been created, staff appointed, sales rationalized, facilities built, production lines expanded, and so on. It's an exercise in advertisement.

Suppose that university presidents and deans of faculties are managers. They would measure their success in terms of increased enrolments, publications, and budgets while attempting to show these advances were the result of new courses or degrees offered, initiatives undertaken, new facilities provided, acres of classroom built, curricula redesigned, and so on.

Naturally, each manager in the hierarchy would be judged according to the contributions made to such goals. This is the approach I sensed in the circular from our Chairman's Executive; "proactive (ugh!), reliable and innovative." The managerial, as opposed to administrative, tenor of the circular was reinforced by the diminishing and rather contemptuous "prompt in signature and response to Dean's requests."

Purposeful change

I don't think university administrators must initiate change in order to prove their worth. They should be directed by the requests and suggestions of their staff, their role being one of judgment

between conflicting demands placed on limited resources. If they feel they must be innovators they should be obliged to show their changes improve the quality of degrees. A whole generation of Canadian children have already been potentially damaged by innovations in school education; new maths, open classrooms, reading experiments, abolition of external examinations, etc.

Administrators also represent the needs of their staff in competition with other administrators. Good ones would admit superior claims of their colleagues. Managers are unlikely to behave so generously unless they foresee some later advantage. They are politically motivated and seek the limelight. Administrators should have low profiles.

Motivation

Administrators and managers are both, of course, responsible for policy, but they have different motives and are guided by different groups. Administrators seek policies which will improve the quality of graduates and research, managers seek those which will increase numbers. Because quality is best monitored by academic staff an administrator should be guided by them.

If you doubt the premise of this argument, ask your dean for an opinion on the quality of the essays provided by last

year's graduating class or your most recent publications. University managers, like those in industry, study the numbers provided by consumers and rely on opinion polls, student evaluation, trends predicted from productivity charts, and so on. They are the doyens pourraient peut-être considérer comme supérieurs à la moyenne les chefs de département qui font preuve des qualités suivantes: "excellence administrative, fiabilité, promptitude à signer le documents et à répondre aux demandes du doyen: idées novatrices en ce qui concerne l'action du département; plus recherches, publications et/ou contribution à l'enseignement." Sont-elles là des qualités d'un "administrateur" ou d'un "gérant"?

Forum

by J.W. Osborn

Professor Osborn is Chair, Department of Oral Biology, University of Alberta. The article expresses the personal views of the writer and not necessarily those of the CAUT.

I nearly had a conniption fit last month when I read a circular from our Executive

Committee of Chairman's Council describing "different merit increment scenarios" for department chairmen. The letter suggested deans might assess above average performance as demonstrating "Proactive (ugh!), excellent administration, reliable, prompt in signature and response to Dean's requests; innovative ideas for academic, etc. performance of dept.; plus research, publication, and/or teaching contribution." Although teaching and

year's graduating class or your most recent publications. University managers, like those in industry, study the numbers provided by consumers and rely on opinion polls, student evaluation, trends predicted from productivity charts, and so on. They

See CHAIRMEN/17

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AGREEMENT....I

minations. During a state of financial exigency, the contracts of faculty members on limited term appointments may be renewed only in certain limited circumstances and there will be a freeze on new appointments.

Following a declaration of financial exigency the President, on the advice of the Senate Budget Committee, will decide on the extent of the budgetary reduction to be borne by each Faculty. The selection of faculty members whose appointments are to be terminated will then be made by a process of consultation and advice in the Faculties and academic units. The decision to terminate tenured or probationary appointments will be based on judgements that the academic performance of the persons selected is significantly less than satisfactory in relation to years in rank. If additional appointment terminations are needed in the same period of exigency, they will be made in reverse order of seniority.

During a period of financial exigency appointment terminations may take place for "redundancy" provided the Senate has recommended to the Board of Governors the discontinuance of an entire academic unit or a degree or diploma program.

There is provision for a final and binding appeals procedure which had previously been completely lacking. This may be implemented by faculty members who dispute their selection for appointment termination. Criteria for recall of faculty at the end of a period of financial exigency are specified.

The President has agreed to recommend to the Board the withdrawal of the earlier ill-fated redundancy policy provided the faculty association ratifies the new financial exigency agreement.

As the dispute developed in the summer of 1985, the Faculty Association asked the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee of the CAUT to investigate the situation at UBC. That Committee

authorized an inquiry by Professors A.E. Malloch of McGill University and Ken Norman of the University of Saskatchewan. The investigators made two visits to UBC with the intention of reporting to the January meeting of the Committee. A negative report from the inquiry could have led to censure. The UBC Association agreed to use its good offices with CAUT to suggest that the report of the CAUT investigating committee not be made public.

The President of the Faculty Association, Prof. Sidney Mindess, called the settlement "a reasonable compromise".

"There's never a good way to lay off people, and no financial settlement can compensate for the loss of a position," he said.

As for the general agreement, Dr. Mindess said the new financial exigency policy represented "a very positive step" for faculty at UBC. "If the agreement is ratified, it will provide reasonably strong

protection for faculty," he said.

The UBC Faculty Association received strong support for its opposition to the unilaterally imposed policy from faculty associations and unions across the country. When President Strangway took office in early November, 1985, he was welcomed by telegrams from faculty across the country congratulating him on his appointment and urging him to settle the dispute.

Foreign faculty associations had earlier protested the actions of the UBC Board of Governors. This was made possible because CAUT some years ago successfully suggested to faculty federations in the United States, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and France that there should be an informal international association for mutual protection. The Australians, in particular, made a very effective intervention in the British Columbia dispute. They had good reason to do so because the Acting President of UBC had been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia. The dispute received a good deal of publicity in the Vancouver newspapers.

Letter to CAUT President offers thanks to Association

On behalf of the UBC Faculty Association, I would like to express our gratitude to you and your colleagues at CAUT for the tremendous amount of help that you have provided to us over the past year. There is no doubt in my mind that, without the active support of CAUT, we would not have been able to reach this accord with the Administration.

The events of the past year at UBC have served to confirm my view that CAUT must continue to exist as a strong, national body. During the course of my meetings with the Administration, it became clear that they considered CAUT to be a powerful and influential organization. The very effective publicity campaign that was mounted on our behalf by CAUT, and the visits by the Committee of Inquiry, convinced the Administration that CAUT was taking the matter seriously, and they were very concerned about the effects on UBC of a possible censure by CAUT.

I am aware that several Faculty Associations in Canada are wondering out loud about the "cost effectiveness" of the fees they pay to CAUT. I don't know how to put a dollar value on the time and effort that you, Don Savage, the Committee of Inquiry, and other members of the CAUT staff put into our cause. I am convinced, however, that without this help we would not have been able to arrive at a satisfactory resolution of our problems.

I hope that we will not have to call upon CAUT for this kind of help in the future. Nevertheless, it is of great comfort to us to know that CAUT is ready, willing, and able to provide help should it again be required. You can certainly count on our support in trying to maintain CAUT as a strong national voice for Canadian Universities.

*Sidney Mindess
President
UBC Faculty Association*

**Vice-Rector,
Services**

Concordia University will appoint a Vice-Rector, Services to take office on 1 June 1986 or as soon thereafter as is feasible. The appointment is for a five-year term, and is renewable.

Concordia University employs a full-time faculty and staff of over 2,000. There are also more than 1,000 part-time employees and numerous casual employees. The university offers day and evening programmes to approximately 22,000 undergraduate and 3,000 graduate students. The university community is highly diverse in terms of age and linguistic/cultural background.

The Vice-Rector, Services, together with the Vice-Rector, Academic and the Vice-Rector, Institutional Relations and Finance, reports directly to the Rector and Vice-Chancellor. The following officers report directly to the Vice-Rector, Services: Director, Audio Visual Services; Director, Computer Centre; Assistant Vice-Rector and Director of Libraries; Director, Ancillary Services; Director, Athletics; Director, Guidance Services; Director, Admissions; Director, Liaison; Assistant Vice-Rector and Registrar; Assistant Vice-Rector, Supply and Services; Project Manager; Occupational Health and Safety Coordinator; Manager, Conference and Information Centre; and Head, Translation Services.

The incumbent is responsible for ensuring the availability of efficient, satisfactory and cost-effective services to faculty, staff and students. A solid background in administration is essential; some relevant experience in the university milieu would be an asset. Ability to conduct business and to participate actively in meetings in French, notably with government and other universities, is a requirement of the position.

In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents. Confidentiality of applications and nominations is assured.

Applications and nominations, with biographical information, should be sent by 31 January 1986, to:

Dr. Patrick Kenniff
Rector and Vice-Chancellor
Concordia University
1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd. West
Montreal, Quebec H3G 1M8
or to
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Quebec plan on retirement income security proposes reform of QPP

by Edward D. Maher

Action Now for Tomorrow, Policy of the Government of Quebec on Retirement Income Security, Position Paper and Proposed Plan. Minister of Social Affairs & Minister of Manpower and Income Security. 1985.

14% in 1984.

There are chapters on Financing the Quebec Pension Plan, on Supplemental Pension Plans and on Women and the Pension Reform. The paper indicated that the Government was prepared to proceed with legislation to implement improvements agreed to among the provinces for supplemental pension plans and it supported the splitting of QPP pension credits at the time of divorce and the splitting of the pension at the time of retirement. However, it states that the Government does not believe the QPP is an appropriate vehicle for meeting the needs of homemakers.

The most interesting part of the paper is the proposal for the reform of the QPP. The recommendation is the same as that first set forth in the

"Cofirentes +" (Quebec) Report in September 1977. The proposal is to increase the replacement rate under QPP to 50% of the first half of pensionable earnings (i.e. half of the AIW). Those who always earned at least the maximum pensionable earnings would receive a pension of 37.5% of the AIW. Such a system would sharply reduce the need for GIS payments. Additional pension income for those earning above the AIW would be left to private plans. The GIS would continue to serve primarily those who have not been in the labour force.

The paper recognizes the increased cost of improving the QPP. It recommends adjusting contribution rates appropriately whenever the Plan is improved. It proposes that contribution rates be reviewed every five years with the objective of establishing appropriate rates for the following twenty years and that an appropriate reserve fund be two years' estimated payouts. They discuss a number of other possible reforms including raising the child-rearing "drop-out" period from 15% to 25% of the contributory period but indicate that these have lower priority. They do suggest that GIS savings resulting from their basic proposal might be used to reduce the necessary increase in premiums for the basic reform for low income earners and for small business.

* J.A. Corry, "A Canadian View," The University and the Modern State, Toronto, Copp Clark, 1964, p. 29.

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CAUT Status of Women Committee

Report gives blueprint for action on status of women

by Carolyn Attridge,
Chair, CAUT Status of
Women Committee

This is the fourth in a series of columns intended to keep readers informed about the activities of the CAUT Status of Women Committee (SWC) and its counterparts across the country. My purpose here is to update you on some of the CAUT committee's recent work and future direction.

Statement on Positive Action

At the 1984 annual CAUT Council meeting, the SWC (then a sub-committee of the Board) began discussion which led to the adoption of the following motion:

THAT the Status of Women Committee bring back reports and/or motions to the 1985 CAUT Council on the following items:

1. The formulation of effective affirmative action proposals for incorporation into collective agreements;

2. The impact on women of the making of part-time academic appointments in universities;

3. The creation of tenure and promotion procedures that take into account the special career patterns of women academics.

In response, the SWC, with the assistance of the CAUT Collective Bargaining and Academic Freedom and Tenure committees, prepared a proposal for positive action, which was adopted at the 1985 Council. That proposal pro-

vides a blueprint for action for individual universities with regard to the status of university women.

Systematic Discrimination

The CAUT Statement on Positive Action to Improve the Status of Women in Canadian universities addresses the broad complex of problems facing women in Canadian universities, often described as *systemic discrimination*. The federal government has defined this as:

...the indirect, impersonal and unintentional discrimination that is the result of inappropriate standards which have been built into the employment systems over the years. Judge Rosalie Abella discusses systemic discrimination in the following terms:

Systemic discrimination requires systemic remedies. Rather than approaching discrimination from the perspective of the single perpetrator and the single victim, the systemic approach acknowledges that by and large the systems and practices we customarily and often unwittingly adopt may have an unjustifiably negative effect on certain groups in society. The effect of the system on the individual or group, rather than its attitudinal sources, governs whether or not a remedy is justified.

Remedial measures of a systemic and systematic kind are meant to improve the situation for in-

dividuals who, by virtue of belonging to and being identified with a particular group, find themselves unfairly and adversely affected by certain systems or practices.²

The CAUT Statement emphasizes the obligations of universities to remedy systemic discrimination: to rectify the effects of gender stereotyping on the pool of qualified women applicants to university positions; to ensure academic milieus receptive to women students and staff, to provide conditions of employment which influence fairly the participation of women as members of the academic community, and to implement programs which ensure hiring equity and access to administrative positions. Such positive action programs in a university should include:

- a clear and explicit statement of intent to improve the status of women (students and staff) within the university community;
- an explication of the measures by which the university creates reasonable working conditions for women, including remedial measures to be taken where necessary;
- the adoption of a set of hiring strategies which ensure equal participation of women; alternative strategies might be the adoption of a detailed employment equity policy through negotiation with the faculty association and put into collective agreements and/or faculty handbooks; the creation of

incentive programs for the hiring of women academics; and the establishment of a representative university wide review committee to monitor progress toward employment equity goals. In addition to the policy statement, statistical and other supporting documentation was prepared to aid discussion and negotiation.

The tasks before us now are to prepare a model clause for collective agreements and faculty handbooks, to encourage local associations to implement positive action policies and to monitor our progress and respond to new initiatives. We urge readers to become acquainted with the policy statement (contact your local association or Tina Head at the CAUT office for a copy) and to lobby for its adoption in the form of a concrete positive action plan on each and every campus.

A Status of Women Committee Network

A second goal of the SWC has been the establishment of a national network of academic staff committed to carrying forward the work of the committee. The network will provide both a vehicle for

action on individual campuses with respect to committee activities and a communication link to the committee through which we can share issues and concerns affecting women. The response to the network has been excellent. More than 55 women across Canada have agreed to participate. We urge you to find out the names of network participants on your campus (contact your faculty association or Tina Head at the CAUT office) and keep them apprised of your concerns.

The Status of Women Workshop

The annual CAUT Status of Women Workshop was held in Calgary, January 31 and February 1, 1986. Topics included employment equity, academic salary discrimination, parental leave and positive action in the university. Speakers included Jeremiah Allen (CAUT Economic Benefits Committee), Claudia Wright (Chair, Manitoba Human Rights Commission), Jane Gordon (CAUT Status of Women Committee), Don Savage (Executive Secretary, CAUT) Dennis Smith (Dean, Faculty of Social Science, University of Western Ontario), Susan

Jackel (Canadian Studies, University of Alberta) and Chaviva Hosek (President, National Action Committee on the Status of Women). A detailed report on the Workshop will follow in an upcoming issue of the Bulletin.

Other Activities

In keeping with part three of the 1985 Council motion, the SWC is now turning its attention to the very complex question of university tenure and promotion procedures and how they affect the status of women. We anticipate that this will dominate much of our work in the coming year and invite you to share your views. Sexual harassment on university campuses remains a topic constantly monitored at our committee table. As always we continue to look for ways to raise consciousness about the status of women in the university environment. Women's concerns are pressing and there is still much to do.

1. Employment and Immigration Canada, *Affirmative Action: What is it all about?*
2. Judge R.S. Abella, *The Quest for Equality*, National Symposium on Equality Rights, January 30-February 1, 1985.

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are guided by the wishes of consumers.

Growth, innovations, and bigger budgets, the primary goals of managers, do not necessarily make better departments, faculties, and universities. Numbers undoubtedly help but they should be a means to an end, not an end in themselves. All that can be said with any reliability is that they make bigger units which, a recent Canadian study showed, nearly always gain disproportionately more management than the increase in student and staff numbers.

Egalitarianism

For the origin of this approach in universities one must look to the past. Society elects temporary governments who become the financiers of most universities. This provides society with a lever to change university policy. The recent huge expansion of the universities was financed by governments in response to consumer demand for a more egalitarian society. Governments needed to preach and practise egalitarianism

although they almost certainly contained a good proportion of closet elitists.

Because of the lure of bigger budgets, university administrators, who were largely elitists encouraging and supporting their staff in the pursuit of academic excellence, were replaced by managers who found no moral difficulty in substituting numbers for excellence. Instead of being leaders, universities became followers. And nobody benefited because no one was measuring the change in the quality represented by those once distinguished letters, B.A. and B.Sc. The academic excellence once sought by universities has been denigrated as unacceptable elitism in all but a few departments.

Quality sacrificed

Full of outrage, I must return to my argument. In response to society, university managements have acted as if we are a business and sacrificed quality for quantity. If we continue to allow ourselves to be dictated to by the rules of business, we must accept that a product which lacks quality can only satisfy the market if the price is right.

Governments and society are beginning to realize that the recent quality and value of degrees do not match the price paid. We have two options. Raise the quality and reduce the quantity — or further reduce the quality. Society, largely unaware of the existence of choice, is opting for the latter solution and, sadly, I don't think university managements are about to change their approach.

Act or perish

I lay the blame for our predicament on past university managements. They forgot that universities if they are to maintain their proper role, cannot be guided by consumer demand. They must lead. Governments, society and industry all continue to complain and want changes. No one is satisfied and, by and large, universities are still following and reacting.

Universities must start leading again, but time is running out. If we do not soon get back to the pursuit of excellence instead of numbers, society will be the ultimate and irretrievable loser. No one will be left who remembers what a university education should have been.

